

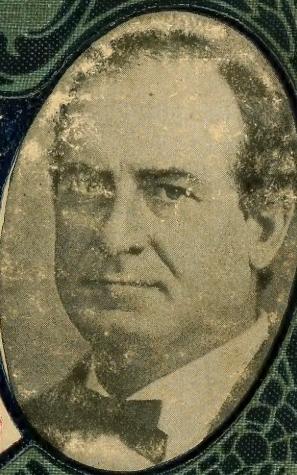
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GREAT ISSUES AND NATIONAL LEADERS

LIVE *QUESTION S*

OF THE DAY
DISCUSSED



THE VOTER'S GUIDE FOR
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1900

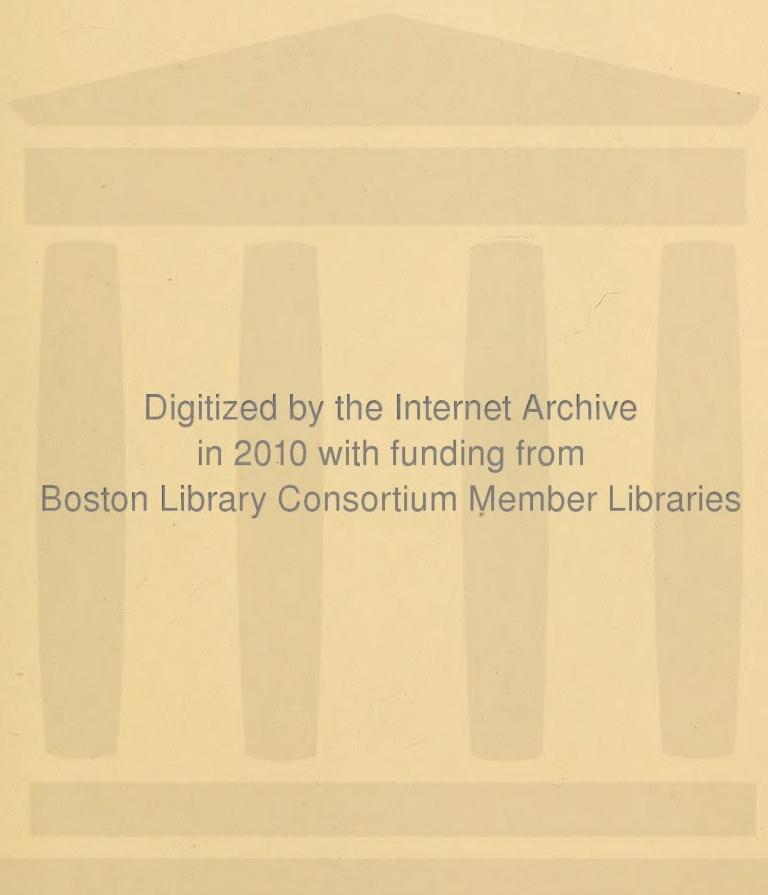


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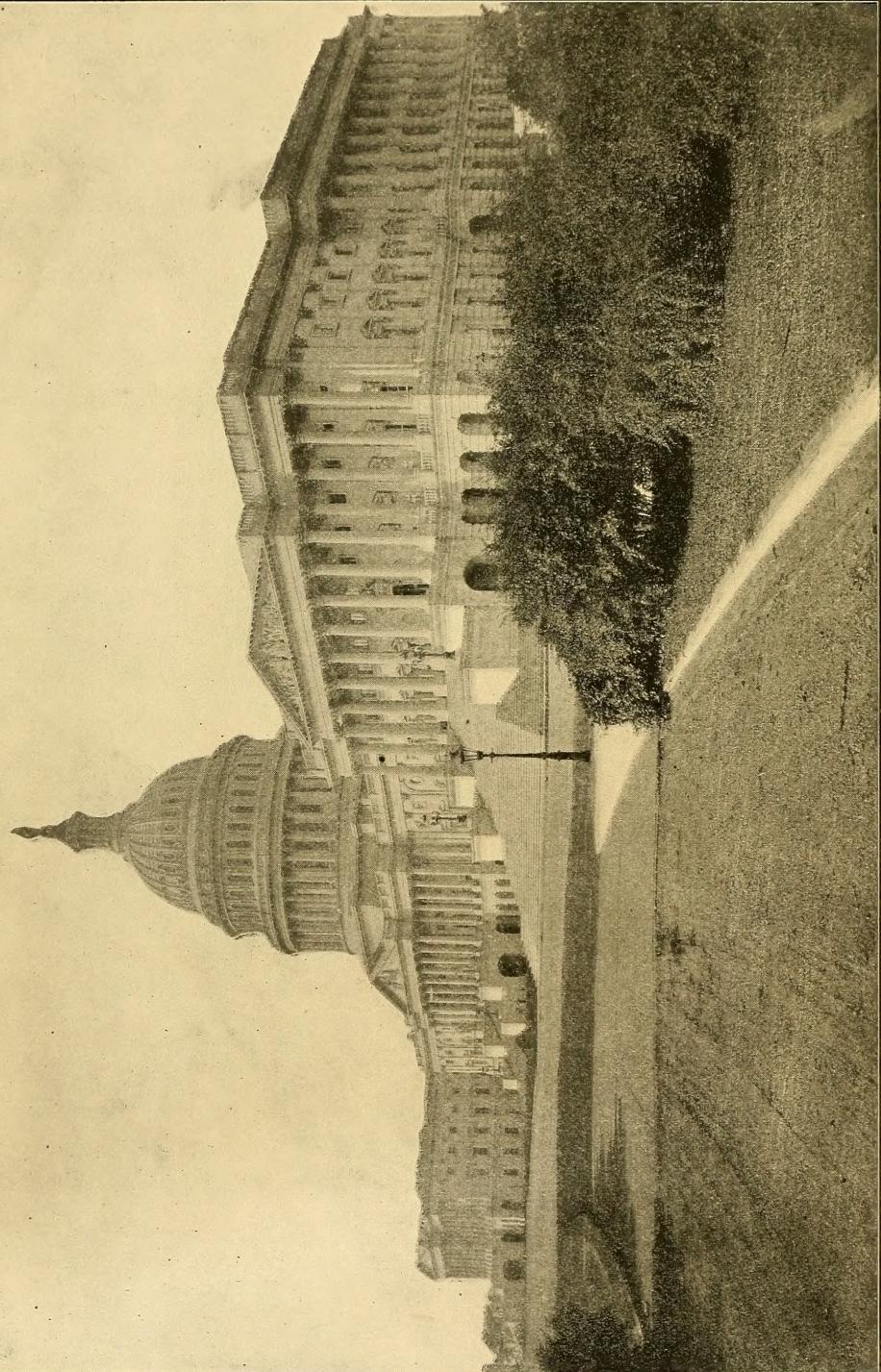
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THE VOTER'S GUIDE FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1900.

GREAT ISSUES

—and—

NATIONAL LEADERS

LIVE QUESTIONS

—of the—

DAY DISCUSSED

Including Imperialism, Expansion, Trusts, The Government of our New Territories,
Nicaraguan Canal, Open Door in the East, etc.

WITH

Party Platforms in full and Lives of Candidates and Noted Men of the Day.
One Hundred Years of Political History and the
Great Campaigns of the Century.

By CHARLES MORRIS, L.L.D., and EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.,
Assisted by I. T. JOHNSON, A.M.

With a Presentation of the Views and Arguments of the Great Leaders
in the Opposing Parties, including

HON. LYMAN J. GAGE, WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, HON. BURKE COCHRAN,
SENATORS HOAR, FORAKER, FRYE AND OTHERS.

R. E. WHITMAN & CO.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

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PREFACE

THIS will be the last Presidential campaign of the century, and in many respects it bids fair to be one of the most interesting and important. The result of the Spanish War was to involve the United States in new and vast responsibilities. Whether rightly or wrongly, we have the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico and Hawaii on our hands. What shall we do with them?

Four years ago the issue was upon the adoption of a gold or silver standard. The tariff question also entered then into consideration. In the four years that have passed, Congress has by law made gold the standard, and although some may call into question the wisdom of this policy, yet the subject of finance will not occupy as prominent a place in the campaign of 1900 as the newer issues, trusts, the government of our New Possessions, imperialism and expansion. At such a time it is helpful to review carefully the history of our past, to have at hand a connected and interesting account of the development of our Government and the policies which have been pursued since its formation. Are we about to change and enter upon new lines of political development? In fact, we can find that in our history many of the problems of to-day have appeared in one or more forms in the past. Therefore, we have before us in this volume, a chapter which covers the lives of the Presidents and the issues of the campaigns of the past 100 years.

There is given also in an interesting and concise form an account of our New Possession, the Philippines, Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and also the story of the war, as a result of which we came into possession of these foreign lands. The beautiful illustrations which are found in these pages add to their interest by appealing to the eye and giving a truthful representation of the islands and peoples. Much has been said and written on these

subjects which is confusing and not helpful to one who desires to form his own opinion. Therefore, in this volume an effort has been made to give exact facts on all the great questions, and to give also the views of leading statesmen. The reader will find data enabling him to decide for himself the issues upon which he is expected to vote. Here will be found discussions by men of the highest authority who have given expression to views on the great questions of the hour. Among these are the public utterances and expressions of Hon. Burke Cochran, Hon. Lyman J. Gage, Hon. George F. Hoar, Hon. William P. Frye, and others which the editor has here collected and arranged. As only a few of the millions of voters have had an opportunity to attend the conventions held in Philadelphia and Kansas City, an extended report of the speeches and reports of the committees are here given. The platforms adopted by the several parties are carefully reported. The editor has also thought, not only of the interest of those who listen to discussions, but also those who take part in them. Abundant material has been collected and conveniently arranged for those interested in preparing for public addresses.

Biographical sketches and recent portraits of the prominent men of the day whose names will appear in public press or who will be heard from the platform, will appear in this volume, to become familiar and inspiring companions of the family circle.

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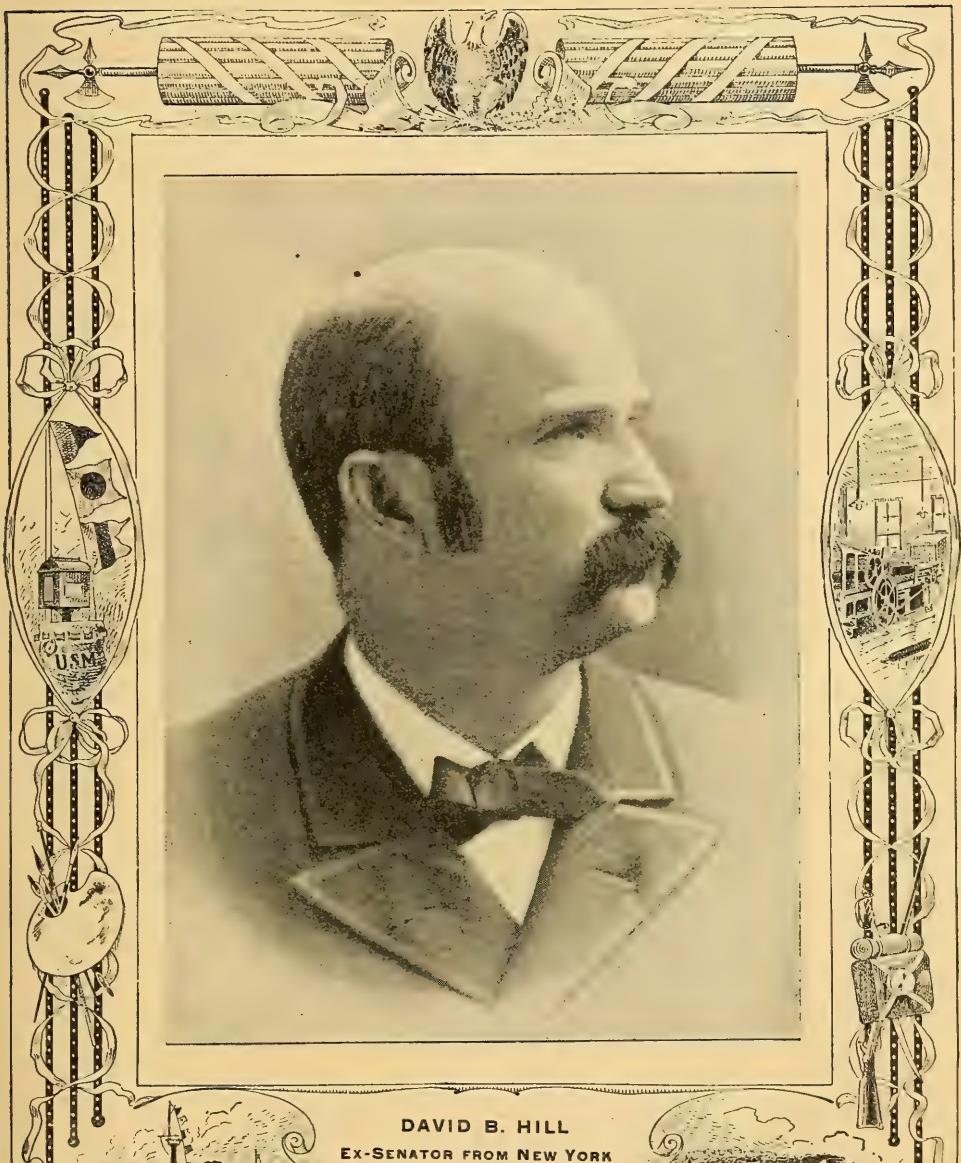
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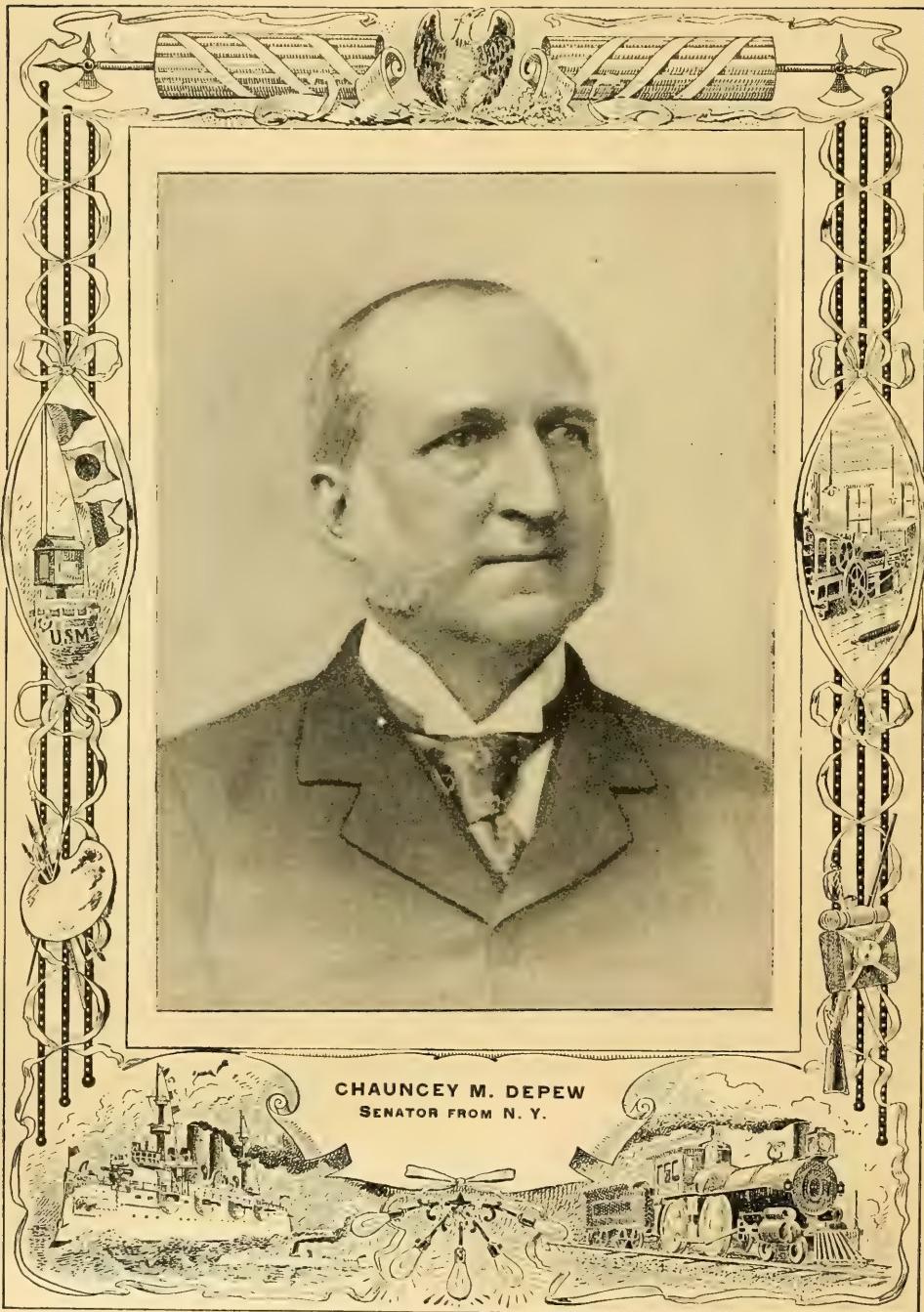
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DAVID B. HILL
EX-SENATOR FROM NEW YORK



CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
SENATOR FROM N. Y.

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CHAPTER I.

Four Centuries of American History

FOUR hundred years is a brief interval in the long epoch of human history, yet within that short period, including nearly a century of discovery and adventure on an unknown shore, the United States has developed from a handful of hardy men and women, thinly scattered along our Atlantic coast, into a vast and mighty country, peopled by not less than seventy-five millions of human beings, the freest, richest, most industrious, and most enterprising of any people upon the face of the earth. It began as a dwarf; it has grown into a giant. It was despised by the proud nations of Europe; it has become feared and respected by the proudest of these nations. For a long time they have claimed the right to settle among themselves the affairs of the world; they have now to deal with the United States in this self-imposed duty. And it is significant of the high moral attitude occupied by this country, that one of the first enterprises in which it is asked to join these ancient nations has for its end to do away with the horrors of war, and substitute for the drawn sword in the settlement of national disputes a great Supreme Court of arbitration.

This is but one of the lessons to be drawn from the history of the great republic of the West. It has long been claimed that this history lacks interest, that it is devoid of the romance which we find in that of the Eastern world, has nothing in it of the striking and dramatic, and is too young and new to be worth men's attention when compared with that of the ancient nations, which has come down from the mists of prehistoric time. Yet we think those who familiarize themselves with story of hardship, deprivation and heroic defence of God-given liberty will not be ready to admit this

claim. They will find in the history of the United States an abundance of the elements of romance. It has, besides, the merit of being a complete and fully rounded history. We can trace it from its birth, and put upon record the entire story of the evolution of a nation, a fact which it would be difficult to affirm of any of the older nations of the world.

FROM THE BEST STOCK OF EUROPE

If we go back to the origin of our country, it is to find it made up of a singular mixture of the best people of Europe. The word best is used here in a special sense. The settlers in this country were not the rich and titled. They came not from that proud nobility which claims to possess bluer blood than the common herd, but from the plain people of Europe, from the workers, not the idlers, and this rare distinction they have kept up until the present day. But of this class of the world's workers, they were the best and noblest. They were men who thought for themselves, and refused to be bound in the trammels of a State religion; men who were ready to dare the perils of the sea and the hardships of a barren shore for the blessings of liberty and free-thought; men of sturdy thrift, unflinching energy, daring enterprise, the true stuff out of which alone a nation like ours could be built.

Such was the character of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, the hardy empire-builders of New England, of the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Catholics of Maryland, the Huguenots of the South, the Moravians and other German Protestants, the sturdy Scotch-Irish, and the others who sought this country as a haven of refuge for free-thought. We cannot say the same for the Hollanders of New Amsterdam, the Swedes of Delaware, and the English of Virginia, so far as their purpose is concerned, yet they, too, proved hardy and industrious settlers, and the Cavaliers whom the troubles in England drove to Virginia showed their good blood by the prominent part which their descendants played in the winning of our independence and the making of our government. While the various peoples named took part in the settlement of the colonies,

the bulk of the settlers were of English birth, and Anglo-Saxon thrift and energy became the foundation stones upon which our nation has been built. Of the others, nearly the whole of them were of Teutonic origin, while the Huguenots, whom oppression drove from France, were of the very bone and sinew of that despot-ridden land. It may fairly be said, then, that the founders of our nation came from the cream of the populations of Europe, born of sturdy Teutonic stock, and comprising thrift, energy, endurance, love of liberty, and freedom of thought to a degree never equaled in the makers of any other nation upon the earth. They were of solid oak in mind and frame, and the edifice they built had for its foundation the natural rights of man, and for its superstructure that spirit of liberty which has ever since throbbed warmly in the American heart.

A COMMON ASPIRATION FOR LIBERTY

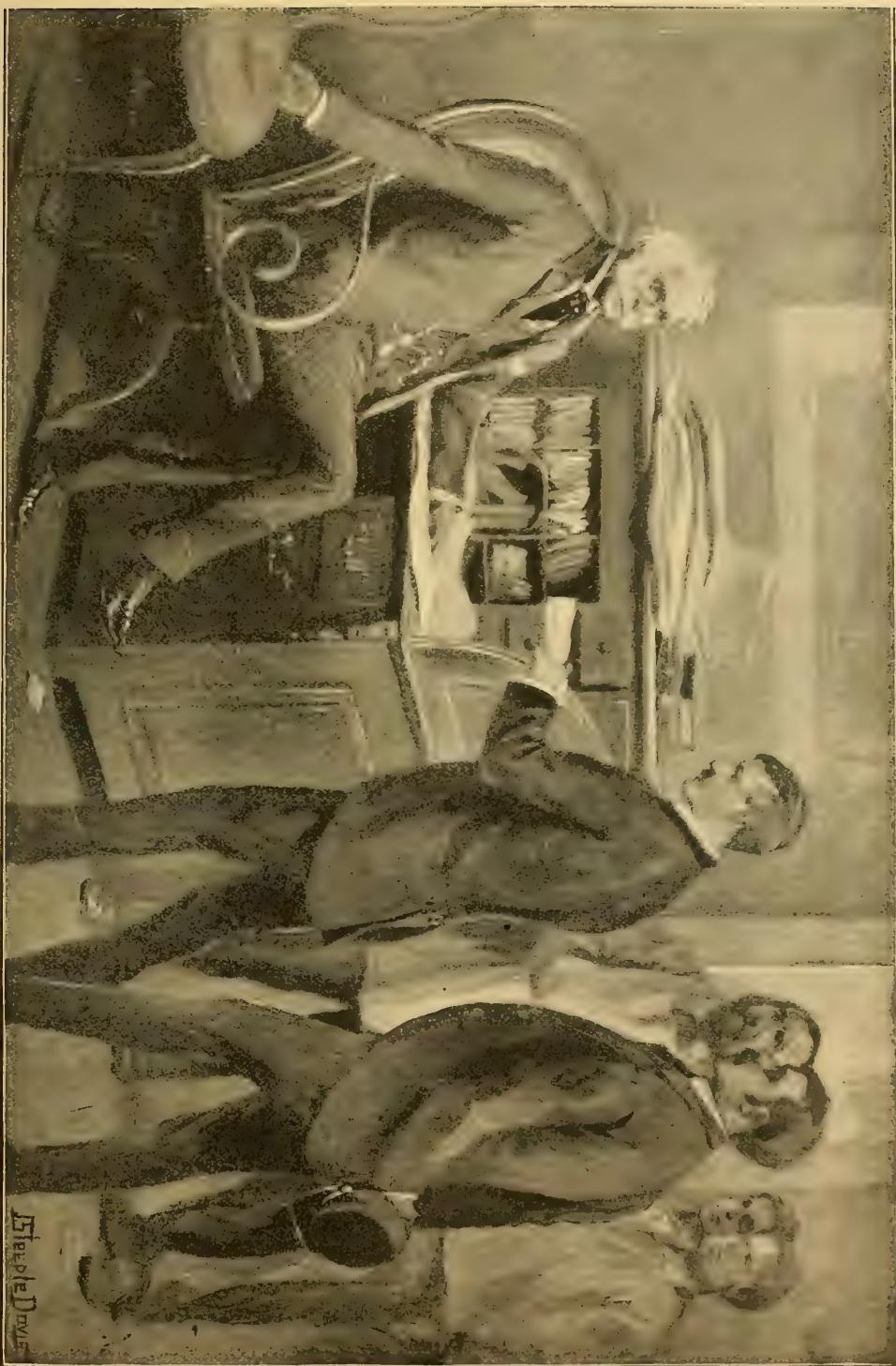
It was well for the colonies that this underlying unity of aim existed, for aside from this they were strikingly distinct in character and aspirations. Sparsely settled, strung at intervals along the far-extended Atlantic coast, silhouetted against a stern background of wilderness and mountain range, their sole bond of brotherhood was their common aspiration for liberty, while in all other respects they were unlike in aims and purposes. The spirit of political liberty was strongest in the New England colonies, and these held their own against every effort to rob them of their rights with an unflinching boldness, which is worthy of the highest praise, and which set a noble example for the remaining colonists. Next to them in bold opposition to tyranny were the people of the Carolinas, who sturdily resisted an effort to make them the enslaved subjects of a land-holding nobility. In Pennsylvania and Maryland political rights were granted by high-minded proprietors, and in these colonies no struggle for self-government was necessary. Only in Virginia and New York was autocratic rule established, and in both of these it gradually yielded to the steady demand for self-government.

On the other hand, New England, while politically the freest was religiously the most autocratic. The Puritans, who had crossed the ocean in search of freedom of thought, refused to grant a similar freedom to those who came later, and sought to found a system as intolerant as that from which they had fled. A natural revulsion from their oppressive measures gave rise in Rhode Island to the first government on the face of the earth in which absolute religious liberty was established. Among the more southern colonies, a similar freedom, so far as liberty of Christian worship is concerned, was granted by William Penn and Lord Baltimore. But this freedom was maintained only in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, religious intolerance being the rule to a greater or less degree, in all the other colonies; the Puritanism of New England being replaced elsewhere by the Church of England autocracy.

The diversity in political condition, religion, and character of the settlers tended to keep the colonies separate, while a like diversity in commercial interests created jealousies which built up new barriers between them. The unity that might have been looked for between these feeble and remote communities, spread like links of a broken chain far along an ocean coast, had these and other diverse conditions to contend with, and they promised to develop into a series of weak and separate nations rather than into a strong and single commonwealth.

FIRST STEPS TOWARD UNION

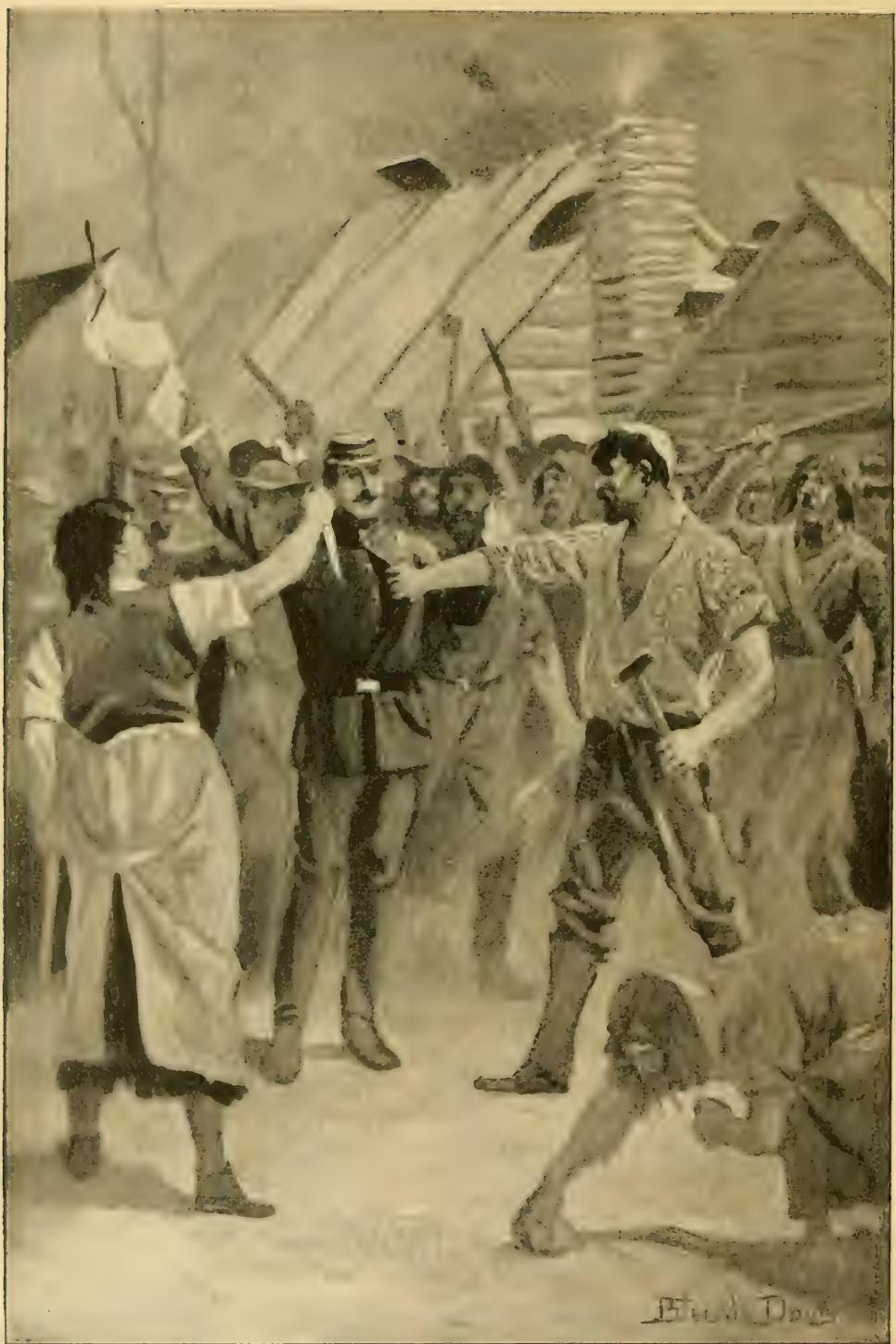
The influences that overcame this tendency to disunion were many and important. We can only glance at them here. They may be divided into two classes, warlike hostility and industrial oppression. The first step toward union was taken in 1643, when four of the New England colonies formed a confederation for defense against the Dutch and Indians. "The United Colonies of New England" constituted in its way a federal republic, the prototype of that of the United States. The second step of importance in this connection was taken in 1754, when a convention was held



The relations of capital and labor--mutually dependent the one upon the other--both selfish and often unjust--have caused serious trouble in the past decade of the world's history. Fair and equitable arbitration seems to be the only safe and just way of settling disputes of this character.

ARBITRATION

E. H. Shepard



THE HERO OF THE STRIKE, COAL CREEK, TENN.

In 1892 a period of great labor agitation began, lasting for several years. One of the most heroic figures of those troublesome times is Colonel Anderson, under a flag of truce, meeting the infuriated miners at Coal Creek.

at Albany to devise measures of defense against the French. Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan of colonial union, which was accepted by the convention. But the jealousy of the colonies prevented its adoption. They had grown into communities of some strength and with a degree of pride in their separate freedom, and were not ready to yield to a central authority. The British Government also opposed it, not wishing to see the colonies gain the strength which would have come to them from political union. As a result, the plan fell to the ground.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The next important influence tending toward union was the oppressive policy of Great Britain. The industries and commerce of the colonies had long been seriously restricted by the measures of the mother-country, and after the war with France an attempt was made to tax the colonists, though they were sternly refused representation in Parliament, the tax-laying body. Community in oppression produced unity in feeling; the colonies joined hands, and in 1765 a congress of their representatives was held in New York, which appealed to the King for their just political rights. Nine years afterward, in 1774, a second congress was held, brought together by much more imminent common dangers. In the following year a third congress was convened. This continued in session for years, its two most important acts being the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain and the Confederation of States, the first form of union which the colonies adopted. This Confederation was in no true sense a Union. The jealousies and fears of the colonies made themselves apparent, and the central government was given so little power that it threatened to fall to pieces of its own weight. It could pass laws, but could not make the people obey them. It could incur debts, but could not raise money by taxation to pay them. The States kept nearly all the power to themselves, and each acted almost as if it were an independent nation, while the Congress and the Confederation was left without money and almost without authority.

This state of affairs soon grew intolerable. "We are," said Washington, "one nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow." Such a union it was impossible to maintain. It was evident that the compact must give way; that there must be one strong government or thirteen weak ones. This last alternative frightened the States. None of them was strong enough to hold its own against foreign governments. They must form a strong union or leave themselves at the mercy of ambitious foes.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

It was this state of affairs that led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, by whose wisdom the National Union which has proved so solid a bond was organized. The Constitution made by this body gave rise to the Republic of the United States. A subsequent act, which in 1898 added a number of distant island possessions to our Union, and vastly widened its interests and its importance in the world's councils, made of it a "Greater Republic," a mighty dominion whose possessions extended half round the globe.

While the changes here briefly outlined were taking place, the country was growing with phenomenal rapidity. From all parts of northern and western Europe, and above all from Great Britain, new settlers were crowding to our shores, while the descendants of the original settlers were increasing in numbers. How many people there were here is in doubt, but it is thought that in 1700 there were more than 200,000, in 1750 about 1,100,000, and in 1776 about 2,500,000. The first census, taken in 1790, just after the Federal Union was formed, gave a population of nearly 4,000,000.

A people growing at this rate could not be long confined to the narrow ocean border of the early settlements. A rich and fertile country lay back, extending how far no one knew, and soon there was a movement to the West, which carried the people over the mountains and into the broad plains beyond. A war was fought with France for the possession of the Ohio country. Boone and other bold pioneers led hardy settlers into Kentucky and Tennessee, and George Rogers Clark descended the Ohio and

drove the British troops from the northwest territory, gaining that vast region for the new Union.

After the War for Independence the movement westward went on with rapidity. The first settlement in Ohio was made at Marietta in 1788; Cincinnati was founded in 1790; in 1803 St. Louis was a little village of log-cabins; and in 1831 the site of Chicago was occupied by a dozen settlers gathered round Fort Dearborn. But while the cities were thus slow in starting, the country between them was rapidly filling up, the Indians giving way step by step as the vanguard of the great march pressed upon them; here down the Ohio in bullet-proof boats, there across the mountains on foot or in wagons. A great national road stretched westward from Cumberland, Maryland, which in time reached the Mississippi, and over whose broad and solid surface a steady stream of emigrant wagons poured into the great West. At the same time steamboats were beginning to run on the Eastern waters, and soon these were carrying the increasing multitude down the Ohio and the Mississippi into the vast Western realm. Later came the railroad to complete this phase of our history, and provide a means of transportation by whose aid millions could travel with ease where a bare handful had made their way with peril and hardship of old.

REMARKABLE EXPANSION OF TERRITORY.

Up to 1803 our national domain was bounded on the west by the Mississippi, but in that year the vast territory of Louisiana was purchased from France and the United States was extended to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, its territory being more than doubled in area. Here was a mighty domain for future settlement, across which two daring travelers, Lewis and Clark, journeyed through tribes of Indians never before heard of, not ending their long route until they had passed down the broad Columbia to the waters of the Pacific.

From time to time new domains were added to the great republic. In 1819 Florida was purchased from Spain. In 1845

Texas was added to the Union. In 1846 the Oregon country was made part of the United States. In 1848, as a result of the Mexican War, an immense tract extending from Texas to the Pacific was acquired, and the land of gold became part of the republic. In 1853 another tract was purchased from Mexico, and the domain of the United States, as it existed at the beginning of the Civil War, was completed. It constituted a great section of the North American continent, extending across it from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and north and south from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, a fertile, well-watered, and prolific land, capable of becoming the nursery of one of the greatest nations on the earth. Beginning, at the close of the Revolution, with an area of 827,844 square miles, it now embraced 3,026,484 square miles of territory, having increased within a century to nearly four times its original size.

STILL FURTHER EXPANSION

In 1867 a new step was taken, in the addition to this country of a region of land separated from its immediate domain. This was the territory of Alaska, of more than 577,000 square miles in extent, and whose natural wealth has made it a far more valuable acquisition than was originally dreamed of. In 1898 the Greater Republic, as it at present exists, was completed by the acquisition of the island of Porto Rico in the West Indies, and the Hawaiian and Philippine Island groups in the Pacific Ocean. These, while adding not greatly to our territory, may prove to possess a value in their products, fully justifying their acquisition. At present, however, their value is political rather than industrial, as bringing the United States into new and important relations with the other great nations of the earth.

The growth of population in this country is shown strikingly in the remarkable development of its cities. In 1790 the three largest cities were not larger than many of our minor cities to-day. Philadelphia had 42,000 population; New York, 33,000, and Boston, 18,000. Charleston and Baltimore were still smaller, and

Savannah was quite small. There were only five cities with over 10,000 population. Of inland towns, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with something over 6,000 population, was the largest. In 1890, 100 years afterwards, New York and Philadelphia had over 1,000,000 each, and Chicago, a city not sixty years old, shared with them this honor. As for cities surpassing those of a century before, they were hundreds in number. A similar great growth has taken place in the States. From the original thirteen, hugging closely the Atlantic coast, we now possess forty-five, crossing the continent from ocean to ocean, and have besides a vast territorial area.

RESOURCES OF THE GREATER REPUBLIC

The thirteen original States, sparsely peopled, poor and struggling for existence, have expanded into a great galaxy of States, rich, powerful and prosperous, with grand cities, flourishing rural communities, measureless resources, and an enterprise which no difficulty can baffle and no hardship can check. Our territory could support hundreds of millions of population, and still be much less crowded than some of the countries of Europe. Its products include those of every zone; hundreds of thousands of square miles of its soil are of virgin richness; its mineral wealth is so great that its precious metals have affected the monetary standards of the world, and its vast mineral and agricultural wealth is as yet only partly developed. Vast as has been the production of gold in California, its annual output is of less value than that of wheat. In wheat, corn and cotton, indeed, the product of this country is simply stupendous; while, in addition to its gold and silver, it is a mighty storehouse of coal, iron, copper, lead, petroleum, and many other products of nature that are of high value to mankind.

In its progress towards its present condition, our country has been markedly successful in two great fields of human effort, in war and in peace. A brief preliminary statement of its success in the first of these, and of the causes of its several wars, may be desirable. The early colonists had three enemies to contend with: the original inhabitants of the land, the Spanish settlers in the

South, and the French in the North and West. Its dealings with the aborigines has been one continuous series of conflicts, the red man being driven back step by step until to-day he holds but a small fraction of his once great territory. Yet the Indians are probably as numerous to-day as they were originally, and are certainly better off in their present peaceful and partly civilized condition than they were in their former savage and war-like state.

WARS FOR ANGLO-SAXON SUPREMACY

The Spaniards were never numerous in this country, and were forced to retire after a few conflicts of no special importance. Such was not the case with the French, who were numerous and aggressive, and with whom the colonists were at war on four successive occasions, the last being that fierce conflict in which it was decided whether the Anglo-Saxon or the French race should be dominant in this country. The famous battle on the Plains of Abraham settled the question, and with the fall of Quebec the power of France in America fell, never to rise again.

A direct, and almost an immediate consequence of this struggle for dominion was the struggle for liberty between the colonists and the mother-country. The oppressive measures of Great Britain led to a war of seven years' duration, in which more clearly and decisively than ever before the colonists showed their warlike spirit and political genius, and whose outcome was the independence of this country. At its conclusion the United States stepped into line with the nations of the world, a free community, with a mission to fulfill and a destiny to accomplish—a mission and a destiny which are still in process of development, and whose final outcome no man can foresee.

The next series of events in the history of our wars arose from the mighty struggle in Europe between France and Great Britain and the piratical activity of the Barbary States. The latter were forced to respect the power of the United States by several naval demonstrations and conflicts; and a naval war with France, in which our ships were strikingly successful, induced that country to

show us greater respect. But the wrongs which we suffered from Great Britain were not to be so easily settled, and led to a war of three years' continuance, in which the honors were fairly divided on land, but in which our sailors surprised the world by their prowess in naval conflict. The proud boast that "Brittannia rules the waves" lost its pertinence after our two striking victories on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain, and our remarkable success in a dozen conflicts at sea. Alike in this war and in the Revolution the United States showed that skill and courage in naval warfare which has recently been repeated in the Spanish War.

WARS FROM POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CAUSES

The wars of which we have spoken had a warrant for their being. They were largely unavoidable results of existing conditions. This cannot justly be said of the next struggle upon which the United States entered, the Mexican War, since this was a politician's war pure and simple, one which could easily have been avoided, and which was entered into with the avowed purpose of acquiring territory. In this it succeeded, the country gaining a great and highly valuable tract, whose wealth in the precious metals is unsurpassed by any equal section of the earth, and which is still richer in agricultural than in mineral wealth.

The next conflict that arose was the most vital and important of all our wars, with the exception of that by which we gained our independence. The Constitution of 1787 did not succeed in forming a perfect Union between the States. An element of dissension was left, a "rift within the lute," then seemingly small and unimportant, but destined to grow to dangerous proportions. This was the slavery question, disposed of in the Constitution by a compromise, which, like every compromise with evil, failed in its purpose. The question continued to exist. It grew threatening, portentous, and finally overshadowed the whole political domain. Every effort to settle it peacefully only added to the strain; the union between the States weakened as this mighty hammer of discord struck down their combining links; finally the bonds

yielded, the slavery question thrust itself like a great wedge between, and a mighty struggle began to decide whether the Union should stand or fall. While the war was fought for the preservation of the Union, it was clearly perceived that this union could never be stable while the disorganizing element remained, and the war led inevitably to the abolition of slavery, the apple of discord which had been thrown between the States. The greatness of the result was adequate to the greatness of the conflict. With the end of the Civil War, for the first time in their history, an actual and stable Union was established between the States.

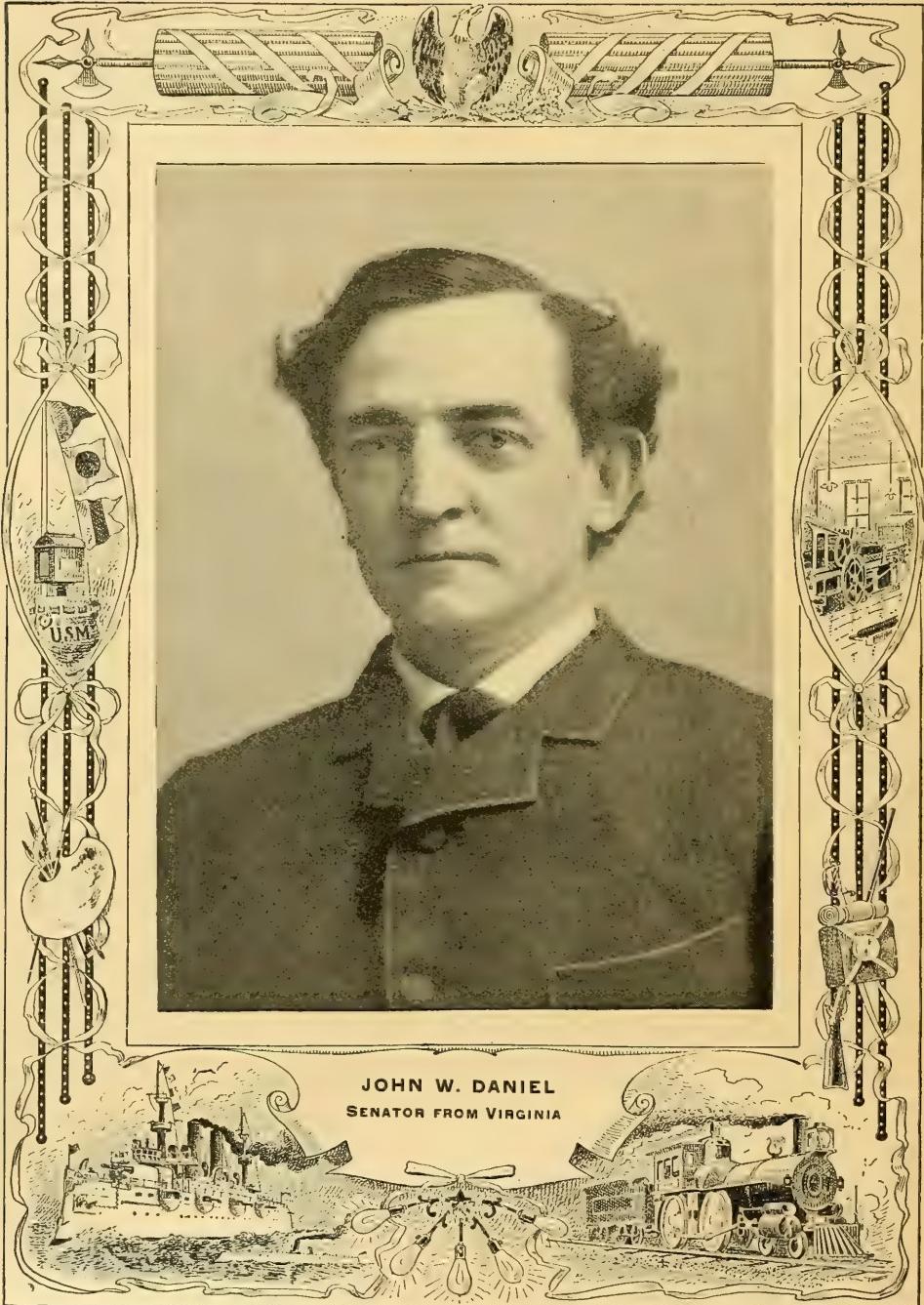
We have one more war to record, the brief but important struggle of 1898, entered into by the United States under the double impulse of indignation against the barbarous destruction of the *Maine*, and of sympathy for the starving and oppressed people of Cuba. It yielded results undreamed of in its origin. Not only was Cuba wrested from the feeble and inhuman hands of Spain, but new possessions in the oceans of the east and west were added to the United States, and, for the first time, this country took its predestined place among the nations engaged in shaping the destiny of the world, and rose to imperial dignity in the estimation of the rulers of Europe.

THE VICTORIES OF PEACE

Such has been the record of this country in war. Its record in peace has been marked by as steady a career of victory, and with results stupendous almost beyond the conception of man, when we consider that the most of them have been achieved within a little more than a century. During the colonial period the energies of the American people were confined largely to agriculture, Great Britain sternly prohibiting any progress in manufacture and any important development of commerce. It need hardly be said that the restless and active spirit of the colonist chafed under these restrictions, and that the attempt to clip the expanding wings of the American eagle had as much to do with bringing on the war of the Revolution as had Great Britain's futile efforts at taxation.



THOMAS B. REED
EX-SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE



JOHN W. DANIEL
SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

The genius of a great people cannot thus be cribbed and confined, and American enterprise was bound to find a way, or carve itself a way through the barriers raised by British avarice and tyranny.

It was after the Revolution that the progress of this country first fairly began. The fetters which bound its hands thrown off, it entered upon a career of prosperity which broadened with the years, and extended until not only the whole continent, but the whole world felt its influence and was embraced by its results. Manufacture, no longer held in check, sprang up and spread with marvelous rapidity. Commerce, now gaining access to all seas and all lands, expanded with equal speed. Enterprise everywhere made itself manifest, and invention began its long and wonderful career.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In fact, freedom was barely won before our inventors were actively at work. Before the Constitution was formed John Fitch was experimenting with his steamboat on the Delaware, and Oliver Evans was seeking to move wagons by steam in the streets of Philadelphia. Not many years elapsed before both were successful, and Eli Whitney with his cotton-gin had set free the leading industry of the South and enabled it to begin that remarkable career which proved so momentous in American history, since to it we owe the Civil War with all its great results.

With the opening of the nineteenth century the development of the industries and of the inventive faculty of the Americans went on with enhanced rapidity. The century was but a few years old when Fulton, with his improved steamboat, solved the question of inland water transportation. By the end of the first quarter of the century this was solved in another way by the completion of the Erie Canal, the longest and hitherto the most valuable of artificial water-ways. The railroad locomotive, though invented in England, was prefigured when Oliver Evans' steam road-wagon ran sturdily through the streets of Philadelphia. To the same inventor we owe another triumphant of American genius, the grain elevator, which the development of agriculture has rendered of incomparable

value. The railroad, though not a native here, has had here its greatest development, and with its more than 180,000 miles of length has no rival in any country upon the earth. To it may be added the Morse system of telegraphy, the telephone and phonograph, the electric light and electric motor, and all that wonderful series of inventions in electrical science which has been due to American genius.

We cannot begin to name the multitude of inventions in the mechanical industries which have raised manufacture from an art to a science and filled the world with the multitude of its products. It will suffice to name among them the steam hammer, the sewing machine, the cylinder printing-press, the type-setting machine, rubber vulcanizer, and the innumerable improvements in steam engines and labor-saving apparatus of all kinds. These manufacturing expedients have been equaled in number and importance by those applied to agriculture, including machines for plowing, reaping, sowing the seed, threshing the grain, cutting the grass, and a hundred other valuable processes, which have fairly revolutionized the art of tilling the earth, and enabled our farmers to feed not only our own population but to send millions of bushels of grain annually abroad.

MARVELS OF THIS CLOSING CENTURY

In truth, we have entered here upon an interminable field, so full of triumphs of invention and ingenuity, and so stupendous in its results, as to form one of the chief marvels of this wonderful century, and to place our nation, in the field of human industry and mechanical achievement, foremost among the nations of the world. Its triumphs have not been confined to manufacture and agriculture; it has been as active in commerce, and now stands first in the bulk of its exports and imports. In every other direction of industry it has been as active, as in fisheries, in forestry in great works of engineering, in vast mining operations; and from the seas, the earth, the mountain sides, our laborers are wresting annually from nature a stupendous return in wealth.

Our progress in the industries has been aided and inspired by an equal progress in educational facilities, and the intellectual development of our people has kept pace with their material advance. The United States spends more money for the education of its youth than any other country in the world, and among her institutions the school-house and the college stand most prominent. While the lower education has been abundantly attended to, the higher education has been by no means neglected, and amply endowed colleges and universities are found in every State and in almost every city of the land. In addition to the school-house, libraries are multiplying with rapidity, art galleries and museums of science are rising everywhere, temples to music and the drama are found in all our cities, the press is turning out books and newspapers with almost abnormal energy, and in everything calculated to enhance the intelligence of the people the United States has no superior, if any equal, among the nations of the earth.

THE GREATNESS OF THE REPUBLIC

It may seem unnecessary to tell the people of the United States the story of their growth. The greatness to which this nation has attained is too evident to need to be put in words. It has, in fact, been made evident in two great and a multitude of smaller exhibitions in which the marvels of American progress have been shown, either by themselves or in contrast with those of foreign lands. The first of these, the Centennial Exposition of 1876, had a double effect: it opened our eyes at once to our triumphs and our deficiencies, to the particulars in which we excelled and those in which we were inferior to foreign peoples. In the next great exhibition, that at Chicago in 1893, we had the satisfaction to perceive, not only that we had made great progress in our points of superiority, but had worked nobly and heartily to overcome our defects, and were able to show ourselves the equal of Europe in almost every field of human thought and skill. In architecture a vision of beauty was shown such as the world had

never before seen, and in the general domain of art the United States no longer had need to be ashamed of what it had to show.

And now, having briefly summed up the steps of progress of the United States, I may close with some consideration of the problem which we confront in our new position as the Greater Republic, the lord of islands spread widely over the seas. Down to the year 1898 this country held a position of isolation, so far as its political interests were concerned. Although the sails of its merchant ships whitened every sea and its commerce extended to all lands, its boundaries were confined to the North American continent, its political activities largely to American interests. Jealous of any intrusion by foreign nations upon this hemisphere, it warned them off, while still in its feeble youth, by the stern words of the Monroe doctrine, and has since shown France and England, by decisive measures, that this doctrine is more than an empty form of words.

IS THIS IMPERIALISM OR EXPANSION

Such was our position at the beginning of 1898. At the opening of 1899 we had entered into new relations with the world. The conclusion of the war with Spain had left in our hands the island of Porto Rico in the West Indies and the great group of the Philippines in the waters of Asia, while the Hawaiian Islands had become ours by peaceful annexation. What shall we do with them? is the question that follows. We have taken hold of them in a way in which it is impossible, without defeat and disgrace, to let go. Whatever the ethics of the question, the Philippine problem has assumed a shape which admits of but one solution. These islands will inevitably become ours, to hold, to develop, to control, and to give their people an opportunity to attain civilization, prosperity and political manumission which they have never yet possessed. That they will be a material benefit to us is doubtful. That they will give us a new position among the nations of the earth is beyond doubt. We have entered formally into that Eastern question which in the years to come promises to be the

leading question before the world, and which can no longer be settled by the nations of Europe as an affair of their own, with which the United States has no concern.

NEW DUTIES AND GRAVE RESPONSIBILITIES

This new position taken by the United States promises to be succeeded by new alliances, a grand union of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, which will give them a dominant position among the powers of the world. In truth, it may not cease with the union of the Anglo-Saxons. The ambition and vast designs of Russia are forcing the other nations to combine for protection, and a close alliance of all the Teutonic peoples is possible, combined to resist the Slavic outgrowth, and eventually perhaps to place the destinies of the world in the hands of these two great races, the Teutonic and the Slavic.

All this may be looking over far into the future. All that can be said now is that our new possessions have placed upon us new duties and new responsibilities, and may effectually break that policy of political isolation which we have so long maintained, and throw us into the caldron of world politics to take our part in shaping the future of the uncivilized races. For this we are surely strong enough, enterprising enough, and moral enough; and whatever our record, it is not likely to be one of defeat, of injustice and oppression, or of forgetfulness of the duty of nations and the rights of man.

CHAPTER II.

A Hundred Years of Political History and the Great Campaigns of the Century

THE ORIGIN OF THE "CAUCUS"

THE presidential nominating convention is a modern institution. In the early days of the Republic a very different method was pursued in order to place the candidates for the highest office in the land before the people.

In the first place as to the origin of the "caucus". In the early part of the eighteenth century a number of caulkers connected with the shipping business in the North End of Boston held a meeting for consultation. The meeting was the germ of the political caucuses which have formed so prominent a feature of our government ever since its organization.

The Constitution of our country was framed and signed in the month of September, 1787, by the convention sitting in Philadelphia, and then sent to the various Legislatures for their action. It could not become binding until ratified by nine States. On the 2d of July, 1788, Congress was notified that the necessary nine States had approved, and on the 13th of the following September a day was appointed for the choice of electors for President. The day selected was the first Wednesday of January, 1789. The date for the beginning of proceedings under the new Constitution was postponed to the first Wednesday in March, which happened to fall on the 4th. In that way the 4th of March became fixed as the date of the inauguration of each President, except when the date is on Sunday, when it becomes the 5th.

Congress met at that time in the city of New York. It was not until the 1st of April that a quorum for business appeared in the House of Representatives, and the Senate was organized on

the 6th of that month. The electors who were to choose the President were selected by the various State Legislatures, each elector being entitled to cast two votes. The rule was that the candidate receiving the highest number became President, while the next highest vote elected the Vice-President. The objection to this method was that the two might belong to different political parties, which very condition of things came about at the election of the second President, when John Adams was chosen to the highest office and Thomas Jefferson to the second. The former was a Federalist, while Jefferson was a Republican, or, as he would have been called later, a Democrat. Had Adams died while in office, the policy of his administration would have been changed.

There could be no doubt as to the first choice. While Washington lived and was willing thus to serve his country, what other name could be considered? So, when the electoral vote was counted on the 6th of April, 1789, every vote of the ten States which took part in the election was cast for him. He received 69 (all); John Adams, 34; John Jay, 9; R. H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; James Armstrong, Benjamin Lincoln, and Edward Telfair 1 each.

THE ELECTION OF 1792

At the next election, in 1792, the result was: Washington, 132 (all) votes; John Adams, 77; George Clinton, 50; Thomas Jefferson, 4; Aaron Burr, 1; vacancies, 3. It would have been the same at the third election had the illustrious Father of his Country consented to be a candidate; but he was growing feeble, and had already sacrificed so much for his country, that his yearning for the quiet, restful life at Mount Vernon could not be denied him. So he retired, and, less than three years later, passed from earth.

THE FIRST STORMY ELECTION

What may be looked upon as the first stormy election of a President took place in 1800. When the electoral votes came to

be counted, they were found to be distributed as follows: Thomas Jefferson, 73; Aaron Burr, 73; John Adams, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, 64; John Jay, 1. Jefferson and Burr being tied, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where the contest became a memorable one. The House met on the 11th of February, 1801, to decide the question. On the first ballot, Jefferson had eight States and Burr six, while Maryland and Vermont were equally divided. Here was another tie.

Meanwhile, one of the most terrific snow-storms ever known swept over Washington. Mr. Nicholson of Maryland was seriously ill in bed, and yet, if he did not vote, his State would be given to Burr, who would be elected President. Nicholson showed that he had the "courage of his convictions" by allowing himself to be bundled up and carried through the blizzard to one of the committee rooms, where his wife stayed by his side day and night. On each ballot the box was brought to his bedside, and he did not miss one. The House remained in continuous session until thirty-five ballots had been cast without any change.

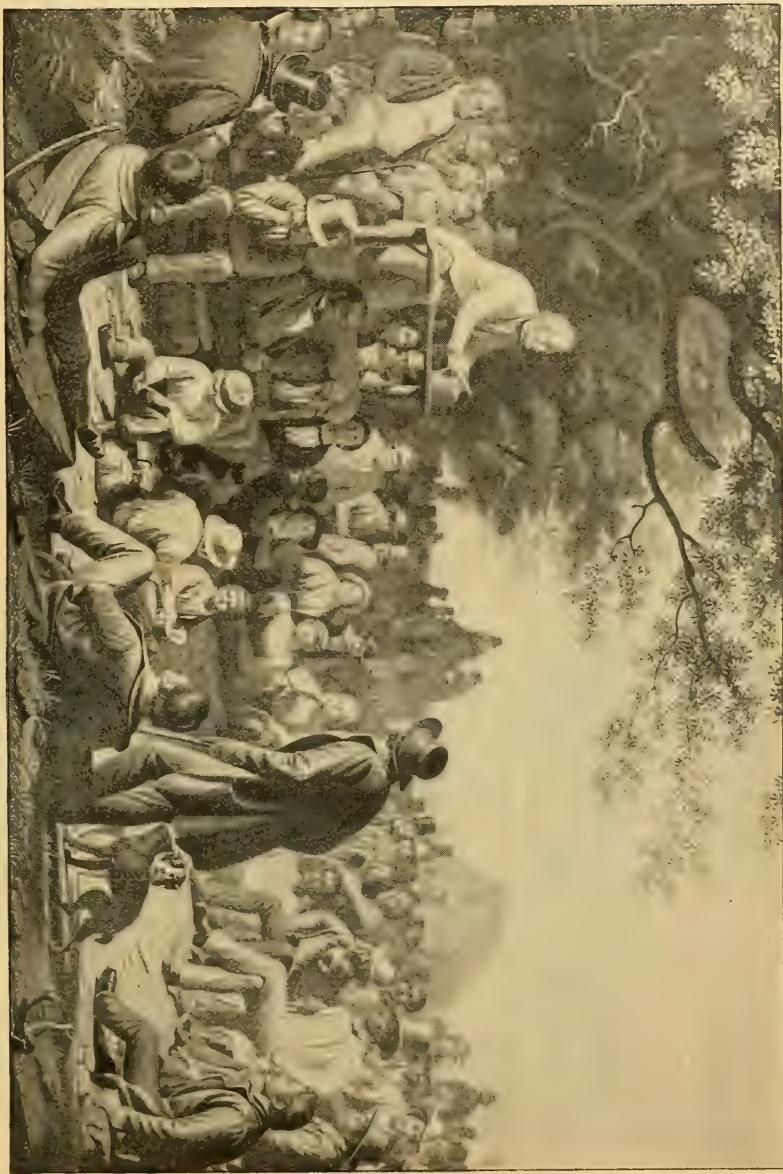
It was clear by that time that Burr could not be elected, for the columns of Jefferson were as immovable as a stone wall. The break, when it came, must be in the ranks of Burr. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the Federalists of Maryland, Delaware and South Carolina voted blank, and the Federalist of Vermont stayed away. This gave the friends of Jefferson their opportunity, and, fortunately for the country, Thomas Jefferson was elected instead of the miscreant Burr.

THE CONSTITUTION AMENDED

As a result of this noted contest, the Constitution was so amended that each elector voted for a President and a Vice-President, instead of for two candidates for President. It was a needed improvement, since it insured that both should belong to the same political party.

During the first term of Washington, the country was divided into two powerful political parties. Men who, like Washington,

CAMPAIGN SPEECHMAKING IN EARLIER DAYS





JAMES G. BLAINE. (1830-1893.)
SECRETARY OF STATE UNDER HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.



SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

Hamilton, Adams and others, believed in a strong central government, with only such political power as was absolutely necessary distributed among the various States, were Federalists. Those who insisted upon the greatest possible power, for the States, yielding nothing to Congress beyond what was distinctly specified in the Constitution, were Republicans, of whom Thomas Jefferson was the foremost leader. Other points of difference developed as the years passed, but the main distinction was as given. After the election of John Adams, the Federalist party gradually dwindled, and, in the war of 1812, its unpatriotic course fatally weakened the organization.

THE COUNTRY DIVIDED INTO PARTIES

The Republican party took the name of Democratic Republican, which is its official title to-day. During Monroe's administration, when almost the last vestige of the Federalist vanished, their opponents gradually acquired the name of Democrats, by which they are now known. After a time, the Federalists were succeeded by the Whigs, who held well together until the quarrel over the admission of Kansas and the question of slavery split the party into fragments. From these, including Know Nothings, Abolitionists, Free Soilers and Northern Democrats was builded, in 1856, the present Republican party, whose foundation stone was opposition to the extension to slavery. Many minor parties have sprung into ephemeral life from time to time, but the Democrats and Republicans will undoubtedly be the two great political organizations for many years to come, as they have been for so many years past.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE METHOD OF NOMINATING CANDIDATES

It will be noted that the old-fashioned method of nominating presidential candidates was clumsy and frequently unfair. Candidates sometimes announced themselves for offices within the gift of the people, but if that practice had continued to modern times, the number of candidates thus appealing for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens might have threatened to equal the number of voters themselves.

The more common plan was for the party leaders to hold private or informal caucuses. The next method was for the legislative caucus to name the man. The unfairness of this system was that it shut out from representation those whose districts had none of the opposite political party in the Legislature. To adjust the matter, the caucus rule was so modified as to admit delegates specially sent up from districts that were not represented in the Legislature. This, it will be seen, was an important step in the direction of the present system, which makes a nominating convention to consist of delegates from every part of a State, chosen for the sole purpose of making nominations.

The perfected method appeared in New Jersey as early as 1812; Pennsylvania in 1817, and New York in 1825. There was no clearly defined plan followed in making the presidential nominations for 1824, and four years later the legislative caucus system was almost universally followed. After that, the system which had been applied in various States was applied to national matters.

THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTION

In the year 1826, William Morgan, a worthless character, living in Batavia, New York, attempted to expose the secrets of the order of Free Masons, of which he had become a member. While he was engaged in printing his book, he disappeared and was never afterward seen. The Masons were accused of making way with him, and a wave of opposition swept over the country which closed many lodges and seemed for a time to threaten the extinction of the order. An anti-Masonic party was formed and became strong enough to carry the election in several States. Not only that, but in September, 1831, the anti-Masons held a National nominating convention in Baltimore and put forward William Wirt, former Attorney-General of the United States, as their nominee for the Presidency, with Amos Ellmaker, candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The ticket received seven electoral votes. The noteworthy fact about this almost forgotten matter is that the convention was the first presidential one held in this country.

The system was now fairly launched, for in December of the same year the National Republicans met in convention in Baltimore and nominated Henry Clay, and in May, 1832, Martin Van Buren was nominated by a Democratic convention. He was renominated at the same place and in the same manner in 1835, but the Whigs did not imitate their opponents. In 1840, however, the system was adopted by both parties, and has been followed ever since.

EXCITING SCENES

Our whole country seethes with excitement from the hour when the first candidate is hinted at until his nomination is made, followed by his election or defeat a few months later. Some persons see a grave peril in this periodic convulsion, which shakes the United States like an earthquake, but it seems after all to be a sort of political thunder-storm which purifies the air and clarifies the ideas that otherwise would become sodden or morbid. It is essentially American, and our people's universal love of fair play leads them to accept the verdict at the polls with philosophy and good nature.

And yet there have been many exciting scenes at the nominating conventions of the past, as there doubtless will be in many that are yet to come. Coming down to later times, how often has it proved that the most astute politicians were all at sea in their calculations. The proverbial "dark horse" has become a potent factor whom it is not safe to forget in making up political probabilities.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1820

Probably the most tranquil presidential campaign of the nineteenth century was that of 1820, when James Monroe was elected for the second time. He was virtually the only candidate before the country for the exalted office. When the electoral college met, the astounding fact was revealed that he had every vote—the first time such a thing had occurred since Washington's election.

But there was one elector who had the courage to do that which was never done before and has never been done since : he

voted contrary to his instructions and in opposition to the ticket on which he was elected. Blumer, of New Hampshire, explained that, as he viewed it, no President had the right to share the honor of a unanimous election with Washington, and though an ardent friend of Monroe, he deliberately cast one vote for Adams, in order to preserve Washington's honor distinct. His motive was appreciated, and Blumer was applauded for the act, Monroe himself being pleased with it.

“OLD HICKORY.”

It is hardly necessary to repeat that this incident has not been duplicated since that day. Andrew Jackson, “Old Hickory,” was probably the most popular man in the country when the time came for naming the successor of Monroe. It may sound strange, but it is a fact that when the project of running him for the Presidency was first mentioned to Jackson, he was displeased. It had never entered his head to covet that exalted office.

“Don’t think of it,” he said; “I haven’t the first qualification; I am a rough, plain man, fitted perhaps to lead soldiers and fight the enemies of our country, but as for the Presidency, the idea is too absurd to be held.”

But what American cannot be convinced that he is pre-eminently fitted for the office? It did not take long for the ambition to be kindled in the breast of the doughty hero. His friends flattered him into the conviction that he was the man of all others to assume the duties and the “bee” buzzed as loudly in Jackson’s bonnet as it ever has in that of any of his successors.

ANDREW JACKSON’S POPULARITY

It cannot be denied that “Old Hickory” was a great man, and though he was deficient in education, lacking in statesmanship and obstinate to the last degree, he was the possessor of those rugged virtues which invariably command respect. He was honest, clean in his private life, a staunch friend, an unrelenting enemy and an intense patriot—one who was ready to risk his life at any hour for his country. In addition, he never knew the meaning of personal fear. No

braver person ever lived. When the sheriff in a court-room was afraid to attempt to arrest a notorious desperado, Jackson leaped over the chairs, seized the ruffian by the throat, hurled him to the floor and cowed him into submission. When a piece of treachery was discovered on a Kentucky race-course, Jackson faced a mob of a thousand infuriated men, ruled off the dishonest official and carried his point. He challenged the most noted duellist of the southwest, because he dared to cast a slur upon Jackson's wife. It mattered not that the scoundrel had never failed to kill his man, and that all Jackson's friends warned him that it was certain death to meet the dead-shot. At the exchange of shots, Jackson was frightfully wounded, but he stood as rigid as iron, and sent a bullet through the body of his enemy, whom he did not let know he was wounded until the other had breathed his last.

Above all, had not "Old Hickory" won the battle of New Orleans, the most brilliant victory of the war of 1812? Did not he and his unerring riflemen from the backwoods of Tennessee and Kentucky spread consternation, death and defeat among the red-coated veterans of Waterloo? No wonder that the anniversary of that glorious battle is still celebrated in every part of the country, and no wonder, too, that the American people demanded that the hero of all these achievements should be rewarded with the highest office in the gift of his countrymen.

JACKSON NOMINATED

Jackson, having "placed himself in the hands of his friends," threw himself into the struggle with all the unquenchable ardor of his nature. On July 22, 1822, the Legislature of Tennessee was first in the field by placing him in nomination. On the 22d of February, 1824, a Federalist convention at Harrisburg, Pa., nominated him, and, on the 4th of March following, a Republican convention did the same. It would seem that he was now fairly before the country, but the regular Democratic nominee, that is, the one named by the congressional caucus, was William H. Crawford, of Georgia. The remaining candidates were John Quincy Adams

and Henry Clay, and all of them belonged to the Republican party, which had retained the Presidency since 1800. Adams and Clay were what was termed *loose* constructionists, while Jackson and Crawford were *strict* constructionists.

"OLD HICKORY" DEFEATED

The canvass was a somewhat jumbled one in which each candidate had his ardent partisans and supporters. The contest was carried out with vigor and the usual abuse, personalities and vituperation until the polls were closed. Then when the returns came to be made up it was found that Jackson had received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37. "Old Hickory" was well ahead, but his strength was not sufficient to make him President, even though on the popular vote he led Adams by more than 50,000. Consequently the election went to the House of Representatives, where the supporters of Clay combined with those of Adams and made him President. Thus came the singular result that the man who had the largest popular and electoral vote was defeated.

It was a keen disappointment to Jackson and his friends. The great Senator Benton, of Missouri, one of the warmest supporters of "Old Hickory," angrily declared that the House was deliberately defying the will of the people by placing a minority candidate in the chair. The Senator's position, however, was untenable, and so it was that John Quincy Adams became the sixth President of our country.

JACKSON'S TRIUMPH

But the triumph of "Old Hickory" was only postponed. His defeat was looked upon by the majority of men as a deliberate piece of trickery, and they "lay low" for the next opportunity to square matters. No fear of a second chance was presented to their opponents. Jackson was launched into the canvass of 1828 like a cyclone, and when the returns were made up he had 178 electoral votes to 83 for Adams—a vote which lifted him safely over the edge of a plurality and seated him firmly in the White House.

It is not our province to treat of the administration of Andrew Jackson, for that belongs to history, but the hold which that remarkable man maintained upon the affections of the people was emphasized when, in 1832, he was re-elected by an electoral vote of 219 to 49 for Clay, 11 for Floyd, and 7 for Wirt. Despite the popular prejudice against a third term, there is little doubt that Jackson would have been successful had he chosen again to be a candidate. He proved his strength by selecting his successor, Martin Van Buren.

THE "LOG-CABIN AND HARD-CIDER" CAMPAIGN OF 1840

The next notable presidential battle was the "log-cabin and hard-cider" campaign of 1840, the like of which was never before seen in this country. General William Henry Harrison had been defeated by Van Buren in 1836, but on the 4th of December, 1839, the national Whig Convention, which met at Harrisburg to decide the claims of rival candidates, placed Harrison in nomination, while the Democrats again nominated Van Buren.

General Harrison lived at North Bend, Ohio, in a house which consisted of a log-cabin, built many years before by a pioneer, and was afterwards covered with clapboards. The visitors to the house praised the republican simplicity of the old soldier, the hero of Tippecanoe, and the principal campaign biography said that his table, instead of being supplied by costly wines, was furnished with an abundance of the best cider.

"TIPPECANOË AND TYLER Too"

The canvass had hardly opened, when the *Baltimore Republican* slurred General Harrison by remarking that, if some one would pension him with a few hundred dollars and give him a barrel of hard cider, he would sit down in his log-cabin and be content for the rest of his life. That sneer furnished the key-note of the campaign. Hard cider became almost the sole beverage of the Whigs throughout the country. In every city, town and village, and at the cross-roads, were erected log-cabins, while the amount of

hard cider drunk would have floated the American Navy. The nights were rent with the shouts of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and scores of campaign songs were sung by tens of thousands of exultant, even if not always musical voices. We recall that one of the most popular songs began :

"Oh where, tell me where, was the log-cabin made !
'Twas made by the boys that wield the plough and the spade."

There was no end to the songs, which were set to the most popular airs and sung over and over again. You would hear them in the middle of the night on some distant mountain-top, where the twinkling camp-fire showed that a party of Whigs were drinking hard cider and whooping it up for Harrison ; some singer with a strong, pleasing voice would start one of the songs from the platform, at the close of the orator's appeal, and hardly had his lips parted, when the thousands of Whigs, old and young, and including wives and daughters, would join in the words, while the enthusiasm quickly grew to a white heat. The horsemen riding home late at night awoke the echoes among the woods and hills with their musical praises of "Old Tippecanoe." The story is told that in one of the backwood districts of Ohio, after the preacher had announced the hymn, the leader of the singing, a staid old deacon, struck in with a Harrison campaign song, in which the whole congregation, after the first moment's shock, heartily joined, while the aghast preacher had all he could do to restrain himself from "coming in on the chorus." There was some truth in the declaration of a disgusted Democrat that, from the opening of the canvass, the whole Whig population of the United States went upon a colossal spree on hard cider which continued without intermission until Harrison was installed in the White House.

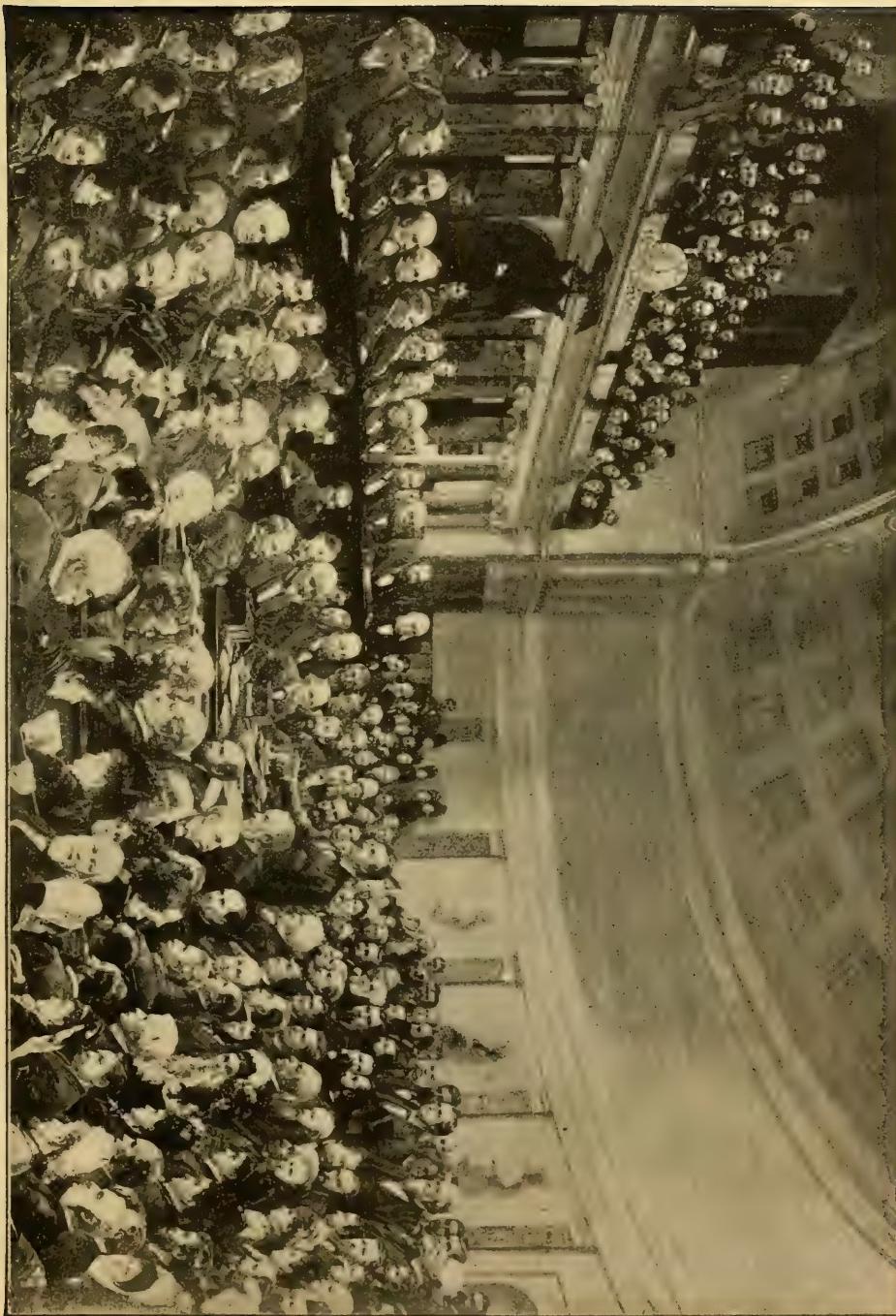
PECULIAR FEATURE OF THE HARRISON CAMPAIGN.

And what did November tell ? The electoral vote cast for Martin Van Buren, 60 ; for General Harrison, 234. No wonder the supply of hard cider was almost exhausted within the next three days.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION WHICH DECIDED UPON THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT HAYES

Composed of three Republican and two Democratic Senators, three Democratic and two Republican Representatives, three Republican and two Democratic Justices of the Supreme Court; total, eight Republicans and seven Democrats. By a strict party vote the decision was given in favor of

Mr. Hayes, who, two days later, March 4, 1877, was inaugurated President of the United States.

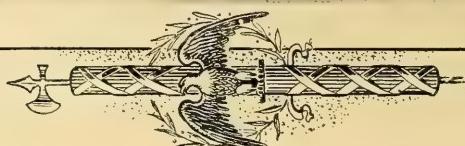




ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
(1809-1865.) TWO TERMS, 1861-1865. DIED IN OFFICE.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.
(1732-1799.) TWO TERMS, 1789-1797.



As we have noted, the method of nominating presidential candidates by means of popular conventions was fully established in 1840 and has continued uninterruptedly ever since. One peculiar feature marked the Harrison campaign of 1840. The convention which nominated Martin Van Buren met in Baltimore in May of that year. On the same day the young Whigs of the country held a mass meeting in Baltimore, at which twenty thousand persons were present. They came from every part of the Union, Massachusetts sending fully a thousand. When the adjournment took place, it was to meet again in Washington at the inauguration of Harrison. The railway was then coming into general use, and this greatly favored the meeting of mass conventions.

"ROUGH AND READY"

The Democrats swung back to power in 1844, when James K. Polk defeated Henry Clay, nominated for the third time. During his administration occurred the war with Mexico, of which General Zachary Taylor was the popular hero. His bluff manner won for him the title of "Rough and Ready." He was a patriot, well informed and well educated, though he took so little interest in politics that he had not cast a vote for forty years. He had no special yearning for an election to the Presidency, but what man can refuse the honor when it comes to him? He chose an able Cabinet, and would have made an excellent record but for his untimely death during the second year of his term. His nomination and election were attended by no very noteworthy features.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN BALTIMORE, 1852

When the time came for other presidential nominations, the Democratic convention met in Baltimore, June 12, 1852. The most prominent candidates were James Buchanan, Stephen A. Douglas, Lewis Cass and William L. Marcy. Ballot after ballot was taken without any one of these men developing sufficient strength to bring success. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the Virginia

delegation presented the name of Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. Many members of the convention had never heard of him, and the public at large were no better informed, but on the forty-ninth ballot he received 282 votes to 11 for all the others.

"OLD FUSS AND FEATHERS."

Pierce's opponent was General Winfield Scott, the commander-in-chief of the Mexican war, and under whom Pierce served. Scott was not popular either in the North or South. He was a martinet, overbearing in his manner and with no power to make friends. It seemed presumptuous to him for any one to think of opposing his nomination or election to the Presidency. During the campaign, the war with Mexico was fought over again, times without number, and every incident of the old soldier's life was lauded to the skies, until it seemed that no greater hero or military genius had ever lived.

But November told an astounding story. The only States carried by Scott were Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, with 42 electoral votes; while all the rest, comprehending 254 votes, went to pierce. If "Old Fuss and Feathers" ever met his Waterloo, it was when he confronted one of his brigadier-generals at the polls.

A TRAGIC PERIOD

The presidential campaigns, which hitherto had been fought out philosophically and with abundance of humor and absurd incident, now approach the tragic period. The baleful shadow of slavery, which had hovered over the political sky, broadened and deepened until the light of the sun, moon and stars was blotted out. That cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, now darkened the heavens with its awful pall, through which flashed the red lightning tongues of civil war. Fremont, the first Republican candidate, had shown so much strength in 1856, that the South was startled. Her people had held the reins of government for many years, but they now saw that a sentiment was growing so fast against the aggressiveness of slavery that it was likely at any

time to turn the scales against them. The Southern leaders loved slavery more than the Union; they believed the North was making unconstitutional invasions of their rights; they were sure that if they stayed in the Union, their pet institution would be destroyed; therefore they prepared to withdraw upon the first election of a candidate on the platform of opposition to the extension of slavery.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DIVIDED

That candidate was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, Jefferson Davis saw that the only possible method of defeating him was by a fusing of all the elements of the opposition, and he urged such fusion. But, as was said of slavery, it split everything with which it had to do. It split most of the churches, and now, before splitting the country, split the Democratic party into three factions or wings.

The Democratic convention assembled in Charleston in April, 1860. They had hardly come together when they began quarreling over the slavery question. Among the members were some so violent that they favored the reopening of the slave trade. The North had refused to obey the Dred Scott decision of 1857, and, instead of surrendering fugitive slaves, helped to conceal, or else assist them on their way to Canada. Until the Northerners would retrace their steps and allow the slave-owner to take his "property" wherever he chose within the United States, without losing ownership, these extremists insisted upon seceding from the Union.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

But there were others in the convention that were less radical, that still loved the Union and were willing to make concessions and accept compromises. The inevitable consequence was another split. Stephen A. Douglas was the choice of these men. He was the champion of popular or squatter sovereignty—which means that he favored leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the residents of each Territory for themselves. This did not suit the extremists, who, determined to prevent the nomination of Douglas, withdrew

from the convention. Those who remained, after balloting for a while without result, adjourned on the 3d of May to Baltimore, where, on the 18th of June, they placed Douglas in nomination, with Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, as the candidate for Vice-President.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

The platform of this party was the declaration that the people of each Territory should control slavery in that Territory, but they were willing to abide by the decision of the Supreme Court.

The seceding delegates adjourned to Richmond and thence to Baltimore, where, on the 28th of June, they nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon. Their platform declared it the right and duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories whenever the owner chose to take his slaves thither.

The American party, or, as they were called, the Constitutional Unionists, had already met in Baltimore, where they nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. They favored the "Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws." This was vague and hazy, and the party might well be termed the milk and water one, for it sought to do that which was now impossible—drop the question of slavery from politics. It may be said that the accursed thing had become the sole question before the country, and rivers of blood would be required to extinguish the flames that were already kindling.

WOFUL MISUNDERSTANDINGS

Who that took part in those lurid days can ever forget them? The country heaved and swayed as if with an earthquake. The most passionate appeals were made to voters, but it may be said that not one person in a thousand really believed that a terrible civil war was at hand. It was thought that the flurry would soon blow over, and even Jefferson Davis, after the Southern Confederacy was organized, declared that he would be able to hold all the blood that would be spilled in the hollow of his hand.

The two sections wofully misunderstood each other. The North boasted that if the South dared raise its arm against the Union, the Seventh Regiment, of New York, or, indeed, any similar organization, would march from the Potomac to the Rio Grande and subdue the rebels. Secretary Seward thought the trouble would be over in ninety days, and commerce, manufactures and trade kept right on, until the thunder of Sumter's cannon echoed through the land and the people awoke.

THE BLUNDER OF THE SOUTH

The hideous blunder of the South was their belief that they had so many friends in the North that they would not permit the national government to make war upon the secessionists in the effort to bring them back into the Union. If war should be waged nevertheless, they were sure that thousands of the Northerners would hasten to enlist on their side. It was a woful blunder we repeat, for while the North was ready to go to the utmost length that honor would permit, its love for the Union transcended everything else, and, as her sons proved, they were ready to fight to the death to maintain it.

Since the election of 1860 was unprecedeted, it is well to recall the figures. On the popular vote Abraham Lincoln received 1,866,352 votes; Stephen A. Douglas, 1,375,157; John C. Breckinridge, 845,763; and John Bell, 589,581. The electoral votes in the same order were 180, 12, 72 and 39.

All know what followed. There were four years of fearful civil war, and then the Union was restored, purified of slavery, and stronger, firmer and more enduring than ever before. In the furnace-blast she had gone through the pangs of transformation, and who can doubt that the Union is destined to last as long as the starry firmament itself?

ULYSSES S. GRANT AND HORATIO SEYMOUR

The American nation dearly loves a military idol, and General Grant was the idol of the North. He was the military genius developed by the Civil War, and he accomplished that which others

had tried in vain to do: he had conquered General Lee, and compelled the surrender of the armed hosts of the rebellion. So nothing was more natural than that he should be put forth as a candidate for the Presidency when the term of Andrew Johnson drew to a close.

It is not to be imagined that so sagacious a politician as Horatio Seymour believed there was an earthly possibility of his success when he entered the race against General Grant. If he held such a hope it was most startlingly dissipated in 1868, when he carried but eight States, while twenty-six voted for Grant.

UNIQUE CAMPAIGN OF 1872

The presidential campaign of 1872 was unique in its way. There is something grotesque in the thought of Horace Greeley becoming the Democratic candidate in opposition to Grant, the Republican nominee. No one had delivered more telling blows against the Democracy than the vigorous and talented editor of the *Tribune*. He had fought them mercilessly for more than a generation and none was his equal. Naturally an element of dissatisfaction grew up under Grant as his term went on, and the malcontents coalesced under the name of Liberal Republicans, made Greeley their candidate, and he was afterwards "endorsed" by the regulars. The dose was too bitter for thousands to swallow, and on election day they "went a-fishing," with the result that Grant carried 31 States, while only 6 supported Greeley. The pathetic element was not lacking, for the gifted and honest man succumbed to the humiliation and was in his grave when the electoral vote was counted.

THE MOST CRITICAL PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY

Perhaps few will believe what is unquestionably the fact, that the most critical period in the history of our country was not in the Revolution, nor yet in the Civil War, but in the autumn of 1876, or more properly, the opening weeks of 1877. The peril was an appalling one, and the most thoughtful patriots trembled for the safety of their beloved land.

There was nothing specially noteworthy in the political campaign of 1876. The Democratic candidate was Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, one of the ablest men in the Democratic party, and against whose character nothing could be said. His opponent was General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, who had made a creditable record in the war. Both had served their States as governors, and both were men of unquestioned ability. The campaign was not extraordinarily exciting and was marked by no more than the usual violence of expression. When the vote came to be counted, however, it was found that, outside of several disputed States, each candidate had received about the same number of electoral votes.

CHARGE OF FRAUD

Naturally each party charged the other with fraud. In Louisiana the returning board gave the Republican ticket a majority of several thousand by throwing out the returns from several parishes, on the ground of intimidation of voters. The Democrats insisted that these returns should be counted, and had that been done, Tilden would have carried the State.

In South Carolina there were two bodies claiming to be the legal Legislature. One gave a plurality to the Republican and the other to the Democratic ticket. The same state of affairs prevailed in Florida, where each claimed a slight majority. Another complication resulted in Oregon, where one of the Republican electors was declared ineligible, because he held the office of postmaster when appointed elector. The critical delicacy of the situation will be understood when it is remembered that if the Republicans secured every point claimed they would have only 185 electoral votes to 184 of the Democrats.

The counter-charges of fraud were repeated with increasing bitterness, and many partisans began talking loudly of seating their candidate by force of arms. Had a collision taken place, it would have been not a war of the North against the South, but of neighbor against neighbor, and heaven only knows what the end would have been.

As if no element of trouble was to be lacking, the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. The law requires that the electoral vote shall be counted at a joint session of the two Houses, and since double sets of returns were sure to come from four States, the dispute would never end.

The situation was unparalleled. The peril was of the gravest nature. Some plan must be devised or civil war and anarchy were certain. Thoughtful men were alarmed and began to discuss a way out of the danger. Finally, Congress passed the bill creating an electoral commission, to whom all questions in dispute were to be referred, and to whose decision each party would submit.

A WAY OUT OF THE DANGER

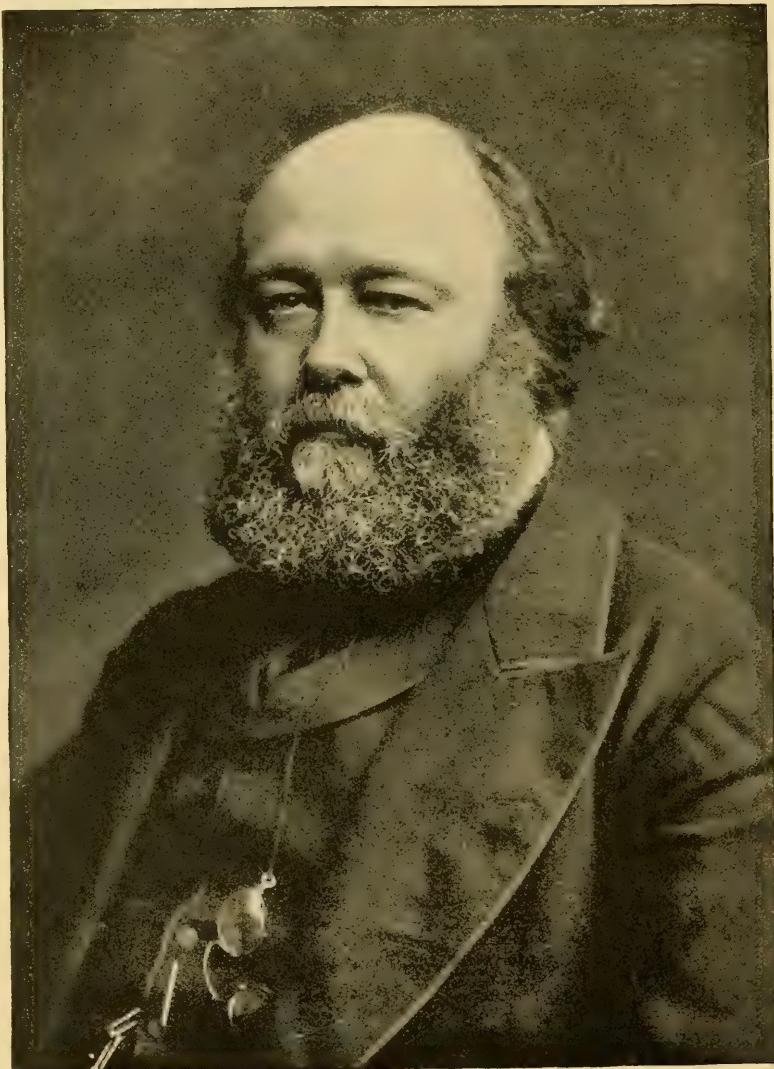
This tribunal consisted of five Senators, appointed by the Vice-President (three Republicans and two Democrats,) five Representatives, appointed by the Speaker (three Democrats and two Republicans,) and five Judges of the Supreme Court (three Republicans and two Democrats.) The expectation was that Judge David Davis would act as one of the members of the Commission. He was appointed such member, and the body could not have been divided more evenly, for it had seven Democrats, seven Republicans and one Independent in the person of Judge Davis. He was elected United States Senator, however, and Judge Bradley, of New Jersey, took his place on the Commission. Thus constituted, eight Republicans to seven Democrats, every disputed question was decided by that vote in favor of the Republicans, and consequently Rutherford B. Hayes became the nineteenth President of the United States.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1880

Probably no "unwritten law" has so tenacious a hold upon the American people as the one which forbids a President to hold his office more than two terms. Undoubtedly it is the same feeling which caused Blumer, of New Hampshire, to vote for John Quincy Adams, in order to prevent the unanimous election of Monroe. The only determined effort to break this tradition was made in



PAUL KRUGER
President of the South African Republic.



LORD SALISBURY
Prime Minister of England.

June, 1880, at the Republican national convention in Chicago, when the imperial Roscoe Conkling led the movement to renominate Grant. He nominated him in a powerful speech, and for thirty-six ballots Grant received a support varying from 302 to 313, but it was impossible to rally enough strength to bring the nomination to the foremost Union leader. On the thirty-sixth ballot a rush to Garfield gave him a majority, and his nomination was made unanimous.

THE MOST PECULIAR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF LATER YEARS

The political campaign which followed (1884) was the most peculiar of those of later years. The brilliant, able and magnetic James G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated on the fourth ballot, in June, 1884, for the Presidency, his opponent being Grover Cleveland, whose prodigious majority when elected Governor of New York, attracted national attention and led to his nomination for the Presidency.

It was said of Von Moltke, the great Prussian general, that he knew how to be silent, and consequently wise, in eight languages. Henry Clay would have been President had he refrained from writing a certain letter. The same is probably true of General Hancock but for his off-hand declaration that the "tariff is a local issue," and it is conceded that Blaine would have been successful in 1884, but for an injudicious expression made, not by himself, but by one of his friends.

"RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION"

At the height of the political campaign a "ministers' meeting" was called by the Republican party managers in New York city, at which the Rev. Samuel D. Burchard made a speech. Aiming to give a neat alliterative turn to a sentence, he referred to the Democratic party as that of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." At the moment he uttered the words Mr. Blaine's attention was drawn away and he did not notice the expression, or, as he afterward stated, he would have reproved it. But it was caught up by the "Plumed Knight's" opponents, and the press made the utmost

use of it. The injury done by the unhappy expression could not be recalled. It alienated just enough Roman Catholic votes to swing the State of New York over to Cleveland. There were 1,100,000 votes cast. Had 524 of those who voted for Cleveland voted for Blaine, he would have been chosen President, whereas the electoral vote by which he was defeated was 219 to 182, because by a plurality of 1,047 the vote of the Empire State was added to the Democratic column.

But the background of all this comedy has been tragedy, for where one is successful, others must drink of the bitterness of defeat. At the last moment, the "dark horse" has bounded ahead of all competitors and carried off the prize, and not always has human nature been equal to the task of accepting disappointment with philosophy and good grace.

Henry Clay was filled with wrath, for there was justice in his claim that when the success of his party was certain, some one else was nominated, while when failure was almost inevitable, he was chosen as the victim. Webster yearned with pathetic longing for the Presidency and died disappointed. He scornfully refused the nomination for the Vice-Presidency under Harrison, and again under Taylor, when, had he accepted either, he would have become President, since Harrison and Taylor died in office. Seward gracefully bowed to defeat by Lincoln, whom he profoundly admired and became the mainstay of his administration. Blaine was equally chivalrous until the crowning disaster of 1892, when, walking in the shadow of death, his proud spirit rebelled. John Sherman, convinced that he had been betrayed in the house of his friends, does not hesitate to declare the fact, in scorching sentences, years after his overthrow. After all, presidential candidates are like the majority of mankind.

THE GREAT PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1896.

The year 1896, from a political standpoint was the most remarkable in the history of America. It was full of startling surprises, unexpected complications and strange combinations, which

were as unlooked for by the most experienced political leaders as by the public generally. The year witnessed the formation of the three new organizations which styled themselves the National (Prohibition) Party, the National Silver Party and the National (Gold) Democratic Party.

Thus, with the People's and Socialistic parties added, there were the unprecedented number of eight political parties, with as many platforms, before the people. The combinations consisted in a union of the regular Democratic organization with the People's and National Silver parties on the one hand, and the harmonious action of the Gold Standard Democrats on the other, with the Republicans to accomplish the defeat of the regular Democratic nominees. The memorable campaign of 1860, when, the question of slavery was the predominant issue, is the only one in our history which was in any degree comparable in point of excitement and intensity of interest to that of 1896.

A ROCK ON WHICH BOTH PARTIES WOULD SPLIT

As the time for holding the National Conventions approached it became evident that public sentiment in both of the great parties would demand an unequivocal statement in regard to the financial questions at issue. There was, however, a strenuous effort on the part of the leading managers of both the great parties to evade this issue, because it was seen that it was a rock on which both parties would split if a definite stand were taken. The popular sentiment in Republican ranks in favor of the candidacy of Major McKinley clearly indicated that the Republican party at large still stood for a protective tariff, and it was hoped that the strong sentiment for this would unite the Republican ranks in spite of the difference of views in regard to the money question. But the growing sentiment among the Republicans of the West and the Democrats and Populists of both South and West, in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, that is $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver is equal in value to 25 8-10 grain of gold, and their determination to bring this question to a

definite issue, gave great alarm to the business men in all parties, and forced the Republican Convention to take a definite stand in favor of what was popularly known as "sound money," which meant the maintenance of the present gold standard, or the preservation of the parity between gold and silver coin.

THE CONVENTIONS OF 1896

The Eleventh National Republican Convention met, June 16th, in St. Louis. Both the Republican and Democratic parties had expected to make the tariff question their leading issue, and, if possible, avoid the split in their ranks, which was sure to follow a definite declaration on the question of the "free coinage of silver" or the "gold standard." No doubt many delegates went to the St. Louis convention with the belief that, as the Democratic administration had taken such a positive stand against silver in the repeal of the Sherman Law, the Republicans would become its logical champions, and by adding free coinage to their popular tariff doctrine would command the strength of East and West on these two great questions. To the discomfort of such delegates, however, the majority of the convention favored bimetallism by international agreement only. The friends of free coinage pressed it in the Committee on Resolutions, where it was defeated by a vote of 41 to 10. Senator Teller and his associates carried it before the convention as a minority report, and urged it by the most earnest eloquence and arguments, but it was again defeated by $812\frac{1}{2}$ to $110\frac{1}{2}$ votes. The financial plank as adopted, read: "We are opposed to free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such an agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." After the reading of a vigorous protest by Senator Cannon, signed by Senator Teller and others, twenty-one delegates withdrew from the convention.

After the withdrawal of Senator Teller and his followers the convention proceeded to the work of nominations. Mr. McKinley was

nominated on the first ballot by a vote of 661½—more than three times the combined vote cast for all the other candidates. Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated for Vice-President.

The Democratic Party held its Seventeenth National Convention in Chicago, commencing July 17th. The delegates were from the start divided into two factions; but, unlike the Republicans, the free coinage element predominated. The Committee on Platform reported in favor of independent bimetallism. Senator Hill, of New York, backed by sixteen other members of the committee, presented a minority report practically recommending the Republican position on the coinage question, and suggesting the endorsement of President Cleveland's administration. The most stormy and exciting debate, perhaps, ever witnessed in a national party convention ensued. Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, Senator Vilas and others supported Mr. Hill. Senator Tillman introduced a denunciatory resolution condemning the administration, and made a fiery speech, causing intense commotion. Senator Jones, of Arkansas, attempted to palliate Mr. Tillman's radical utterances, but the temper of the convention was at the boiling point, and excited men moved about among the delegations.

At this juncture the man for the hour appeared. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, a young man of thirty-six years, who had won distinction as an orator, ascended the platform. The conditions which Webster declared necessary for a great oration—"the man, the audience, the occasion"—were present. The speech he delivered has been regarded as a masterpiece. The burning eloquence, earnestness, zeal and magnetic presence of the man were irresistible. When he closed he was borne from the stage amid the wildest enthusiasm. The report of the minority was laid on the table. Senator Tillman's resolution was also defeated. The platform as reported by the majority was adopted. The financial clause read: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." They also declared against injunction proceedings on the part of the

Government in settling labor troubles, as interfering with State sovereignty. This clause was no doubt instigated by a disapproval of President Cleveland's course in quelling the Chicago riot in 1894. Other radical departures from previous Democratic platforms were also introduced.

Prior to this speech Mr. Bryan had not been considered as a presidential possibility; but from that moment he became the most popular candidate. Five ballots were cast duly complimenting such "silver" leaders as Hon. Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, Horace Boies, of Iowa, and others, but resulting in the nomination of Mr. Bryan by a vote of 528 out of 930. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President.

The People's Party met in its second national convention at St. Louis, July 22d, with an unprecedented delegation of over 1,300 in attendance. They adopted a distinct party platform, but endorsed the Democratic financial plank, and nominated the Democratic candidate, Mr. Bryan, for President, but named Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for the Vice-Presidency. The National Silver Party met at the same time and place, made a special platform and nominated the full Democratic ticket—both Bryan and Sewall.

The National (Gold) Democratic Convention met in Indianapolis, September 3d. This party was composed of those Democrats who favored the administration, and would support neither the regular Democratic ticket nor vote for Mr. McKinley. They made a platform on the usual Democratic principles, except that they advocated gold mono-metallism pure and simple. They nominated General John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

Thus the lines were drawn and the issues clearly defined. There were three distinct policies: The Republicans favored international bimetallism only; the Regular Democrats, the People's, the National Silver, and the National (Prohibition) parties advocated independent free coinage regardless of the actions of other nations; the National (Gold) Democrats stood for gold mono-metallism.

CHAPTER III.

Vital Issues of the Campaign

NATIONAL campaigns largely depend for their issues, either upon the condition of the country, its commercial or industrial prosperity or depression, or else upon the events of stirring character which have happened within the few preceding years. The election of 1896 followed almost immediately a very serious panic which affected the whole country. Many causes for this have been set forth, and the blame for it had been laid at the doors of each party by the other. One party claimed that the high tariff, inconsistent in itself and favoring the large capitalist was a cause for the trouble, while another party claimed that a panacea for the troubles would be in a radical change in the financial system. Both parties agreed on the common ground of bi-metallism, but the mono-metallists were divided into two camps, the gold and the silver people. The result was that in our last campaign, the battle was fought largely upon the financial issue, both parties taking decided stands in their platforms. The Republicans won in the contest. They had promised legislation on the money question, and have fulfilled their promise by passing the gold law of March, 1900. They have continued their policy of protection, and have made no modifications in the McKinley Tariff Law.

NEW ISSUES OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN

Both Houses in Congress being Republican by a majority have certainly given that party an opportunity to legislate on all the vital questions promised in the last campaign, and they come before the people this year to defend their measures. The Democratic party has been before the people in the position of a minority, which is to criticize all measures introduced by the majority and prepare themselves to come before the people with proposals, which may

mean an entire change of policy. Unlike the campaign of 1896, the present campaign will have issues which arise out of the unusual and unexpected war with Spain, and the acquirement of new possessions.

While in this and the succeeding chapter we discuss many of the leading questions of the hour, we reserve the discussion of the greater questions, trusts, imperialism, commerce and subsidies for special chapters, containing discussions of eminent statesmen and writers.

In considering these issues, it is important that we fairly comprehend the commercial and industrial situation of to-day.

THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

All lines of industrial enterprise show now a prosperity almost unprecedented in former years. Wage-earning and the consuming capacity of all classes show a remarkable increase. Taking manufacturing interests, the number of employees for 1900 is estimated at 6,700,000, as against 4,500,000 for 1890, and the wages paid for 1900 will approximate \$3,196,000,000, as against \$2,172,000,000 of 1890. The value of the output product will reach \$13,539,000,000 as against \$9,057,000,000 for 1890. During the years 1894 and 1895, the number of persons employed and the output of manufactured goods, decreased on account of the panic until it reached the point where it was in 1890, but since 1894 and 1895 there has been a tremendous upward tendency, and it is safe to estimate the number of employees is now more than 2,000,000 more than that of 1890, and the wages paid are \$1,000,000,000 more.

While the conditions in the United States are certainly excellent as to business enterprise, the wide distribution of finished products and generally prosperous industrial conditions, it is to be noted that the same industrial conditions exist abroad, notwithstanding the political unrest in some parts of Europe on account of the Boer War.

In England and her Colonies, industry generally is thriving; Russia is having a tremendous development, and Germany an

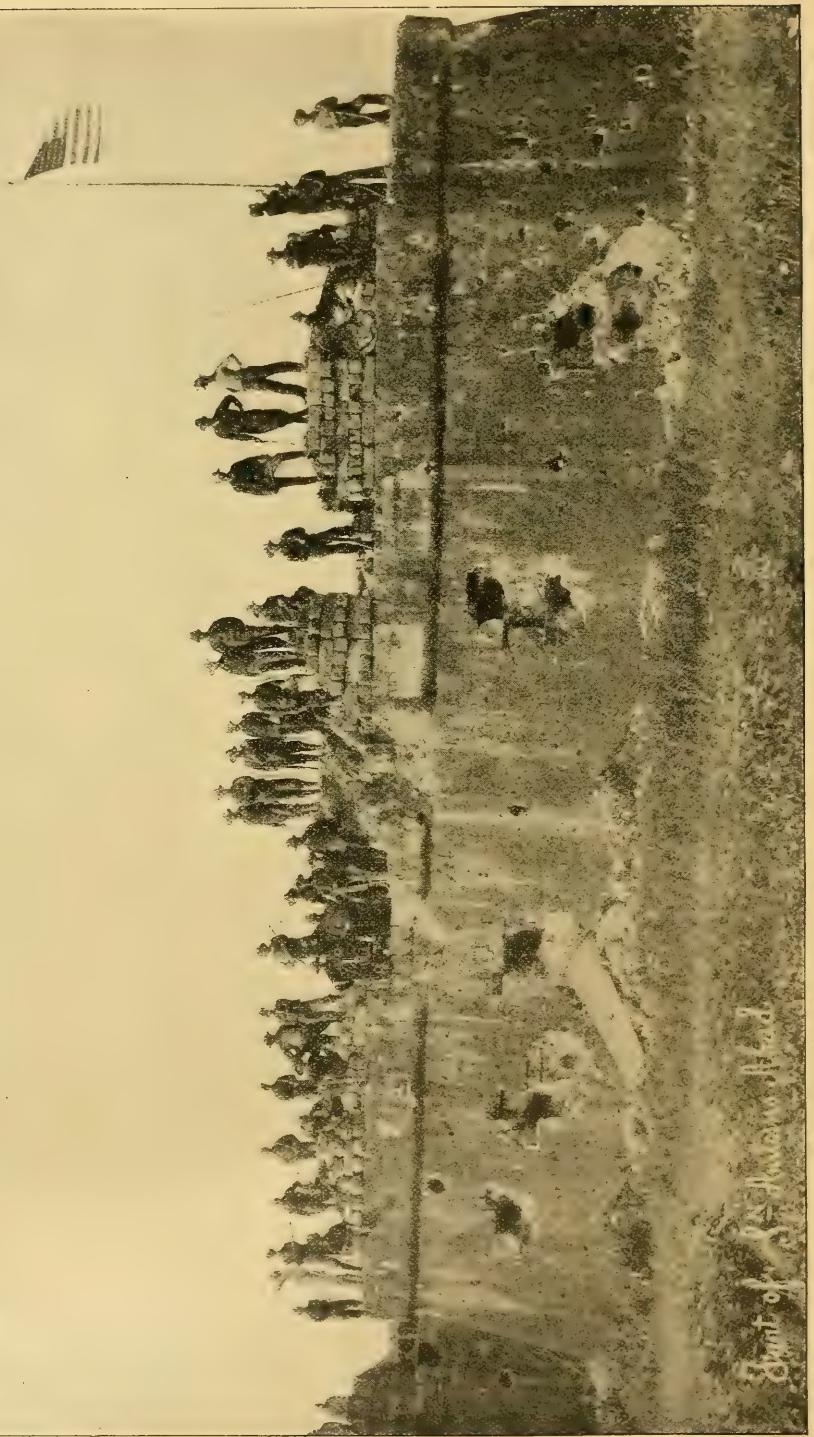


GENERAL AGUINALDO

This is the Filipino chief as he appeared in military uniform in February, 1899.

RAISING THE FLAG ON FORT SAN ANTONIO DE ABAD, MALATE

This old fort was silenced by Dewey's guns August 13, 1898, with the assistance of land forces under General Anderson. The Astor Battery on shore under Captain March, supported General McArthur's forces on the right wing. It was the California and Colorado Volunteer Regiments, with the Eighteenth Regulars, who finally drove out the Spaniards and occupied the position, where the Californians at once raised the Stars and stripes. The marks of Dewey's shells are seen on the site of the fort.



unprecedented boom. It is predicted that within the next twenty years 10,000 miles of railroad will no doubt be constructed in Asia and Africa, and the influence of this will be felt in our country.

United States has an export trade which is very heavy, and with every prospect of continuance. This will form a permanent and steady outlet for the surplus American fields and factories. In the year 1899 this country exported merchandise to the amount of \$1,275,000,000, which was an increase of \$20,000,000 over the preceding record-breaking year. Of these exports five-eighths were from the farm, and about three-eighths from manufactories. The prosperity of the country and healthy conditions are indicated by the fact that while competition among distributers was never more keen, the past year has brought prosperity to the mercantile world; in fact, all lines of business have been conducted on a profitable basis.

FARM PRODUCTS AND WAGES

In regard to the wages of the laboring and artisan classes and the cost of living, statistics show that there has been a decided improvement over previous years. In fact, not for many years, has so small a proportion of the working world been idle as now. Several hundred thousand operatives in cotton and woolen mills have secured an advance in wages from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent., and in other industrials there has been a strong increase. Workers of iron and steel are getting higher wages. Operatives in mines also are receiving more, the advance being as high in many instances as 25 per cent.

The marked growth in the value of farm products during the past year, as compared with the values of four or five years ago is strong on every side. The advance in cotton, wool, tobacco and flax-seed is to the direct benefit of the farmers. The part which the trusts have played in the advance in prices, whether it has been beneficial or otherwise is an important subject of consideration. The demands and aggressions of the railroad companies, and many of the trusts and strong industrial combinations generally are such as to merit careful state and national legislation and supervision.

These co-operations have in the main enjoyed a highly profitable year. They have distributed large sums of money to operatives and wage-men. These in turn are heavy consumers of the farm product, and in an indirect way we may say that the farmer is benefitted.

WAR TAXES AND TREASURY SURPLUS

By the report of the Secretary of the Treasury issued April, 1900, it is evident that there will be approximately about \$70,000,000 surplus in the United States treasury at the close of the present fiscal year. This is composed in a large part by the excess of internal revenue or war tax, imposed to meet the special emergency of the Spanish-American War. Receipts from Custom's duties also are increasing largely and are swelling the surplus. For the first eight months of the fiscal year 1899-1900 dutiable merchandise imported into this country, exceeded by \$67,000,000 the imports for the corresponding period of the previous year. The policy of the present administration has been to distribute the excess of the revenues among the national banks of the country in order to restore the money to active channels of trade, and later to use this money in redeeming about \$25,000,000 of bonds falling due 1901. The administration has thus raised a question which the opposition no doubt will make use of in the coming campaign, and thereby introduce a discussion of the *tariff question*. There seems to be a widespread feeling that with surplus from the internal revenue and Custom's duties, measures should be taken to change the tariff law or amend the war on revenue tax, or both. The present condition of affairs appears, no doubt, to encourage extravagance on the part of the Government, and to become a burden on the tax payers. The voters will ask themselves whether it is right that these revenues should be spent in constructing gigantic canals, Pacific cables, paying ship subsidies, increasing the military or naval establishments, erecting public buildings, and other things of so-called "public benefit." Does not such apparently limitless resources encourage too lavish a pension system and dishonesty in public officials?

Certainly there will be a great opportunity within the reach of someone to assume the twentieth century leadership, and make himself the benefactor of his country. The men who will be elected in the coming campaign should be selected with the full understanding of what their responsibility will be. If the national leader shows that the resources of the republic are used for the benefit of the people, who are the sources of all political power, and for the benefit of those who live under its protection, he will find millions who rejoice in his wisdom and his courage. Not only will he have the best interests of the United States to consider, but also the best interests and welfare of island possessions hardly second to the possessions of any country except Great Britain in area, population and wealth.

IMPERIALISM AND EXPANSION

Prominent before the country, is the question of what shall we do with our new possessions. Two words have come into use which are bandied back and forth very often, but little understood, "*imperialism*" and "*expansion*." At first the association of the word imperialism with a government of monarchy is naturally repugnant to all republican ideas, and therefore there must be prejudices to its use. Expansion is a simpler term and means the enlarging of the territories which we already have. This was begun in the earlier history of the United States in three ways: First, by purchase, as in the case of Louisiana; second, by cession, as in the case of Texas, and third, by conquest or the result of war, as in the case of Mexico. The imperialistic idea implies the government of acquired possessions outside of the constitution. In this view our Government would rule its colonies according to its own ideas, whether they be right or wrong. This is the true imperialistic idea. On the other hand the colonies could be ruled in such a way that they would have a liberal, local self-government, and representation in the national affairs. The imperialistic idea has to a certain extent taken possession of many people, and, on the contrary, a class who oppose this idea are commonly known as anti-imperialists. The growth of imperialism and the opposition to it has been gradual.

At first we heard expansion spoken of and precedents were sought in American history for the condition of affairs resulting from the Spanish War. In the declaration of war with Spain, congress said that "the Cuban people are and have a right, and should be free and independent, and that it was not the intention of the United States to enter upon a war of annexation or conquest." Any other reasons for the war would have been considered "criminal aggression."

"DUTY" AND "DESTINY"

Then our "*duty*" and our "*destiny*" began to be discussed. Had the war resulted only in the freeing of Cuba, imperialism and expansion would not have been mooted, but the Philippines and Porto Rico coming into our possession, the question immediately arose, what should we do with them? How this has been answered in regard to Porto Rico has been set forth in another chapter of this book. The government granted to Porto Rico may become a precedent of that to be granted to the Philippines; if so it must be seriously considered. The opponents to this measure say it is a denial to the natives of the right of self-government, and an assertion of the right of the government to govern outside of the Constitution, and an actual establishment of an absolute government, and of a tariff which denies to the Porto Ricans uniform taxation, as commanded by the Constitution.

The issue of imperialism and expansion is a vital one. Are we to change our political character? Is this to be a Republic composed of self-governing people and of dependent colonies? Does the Constitution apply to the colonies? Are the islands to be governed in the interest of the commercial classes, and are we to tax them for the benefit of the protected manufacturers?

RICHARD OLNEY, Secretary of State under President Grover Cleveland, says of

THE EXPANSION OF OUR DUTIES AND SYMPATHIES:—

"Hereafter, as heretofore, our general policy must be and will be non-interference in the internal affairs of European states—

hereafter, as heretofore, we shall claim paramountcy in things purely American—and hereafter, as heretofore, we shall antagonize any attempt by a European power to forcibly plant its flag on the American continents. It cannot be doubted, however, that our new departure not merely unites our hands, but fairly binds us to use them in a manner we have thus far not been accustomed to. We cannot assert ourselves as a power whose interests and sympathies are as wide as civilization without assuming obligations corresponding to the claim—obligations to be all the more scrupulously recognized and performed that they lack the sanction of physical force. The first duty of every nation, as already observed, is to itself—is the promotion and conservation of its own interests. Its position as an active member of the international family does not require it ever to lose sight of that principle. But just weight being given to that principle, and its abilities and resources and opportunities permitting, there is no reason why the United States should not act for the relief of suffering humanity and for the advancement of civilization wherever and whenever such action would be timely and effective. Should there, for example, be a recurrence of the Turkish massacre of Armenian Christians, not to stop them alone or in concert with others, could we do so without imperiling our own substantial interests, would be unworthy of us and inconsistent with our claims and aspirations as a great power. We certainly could no longer shelter ourselves behind the time-honored excuse that we are an American power exclusively, without concern with the affairs of the world at large."

COST OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

The enormous cost of the war in the Philippines since the treaty of peace, which has amounted to nearly \$500,000,000, the barbarities, the drain upon the youth of the country, are certainly suggestions of serious import. The terrible effects of this war upon American ideas of peace and war, and the demoralizing influences which have arisen from it, will not be forgotten. Out of this war

has arisen the necessity of setting up a large army and navy, with the burdens of militarism and increased taxation.

THE ARMY

At the opening of the War with Spain, the United States had a standing army of practically 27,000 men. The requirements of the war called forth an army of nearly 200,000 volunteers, which, at the conclusion of the war, were reduced to meet the requirements of the continued warfare in the Philippine Islands, necessary to hold them in our possession. A movement was started to increase the number of the regular army to 100,000 men. This received considerable opposition until, by act of Congress, the army was reorganized on the basis of an establishment of a regular army of 65,000 men for a period of two years, with power on the part of the President to enlist 35,000 additional troops for service in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, so long as he may deem their services to be required. On July 1, 1901, the army is to be reduced to 27,000 men, its number before the beginning of the War with Spain, unless Congress provides to the contrary.

THE NAVY

The record made by the navy during the late war, and the management of the Department which had brought the navy to such a high point of efficiency, has done much to persuade the American people, that they need a still larger and more complete establishment. Yet, there are many who see great dangers in this, and that a large navy will provoke quarrels and troubles, where a small navy would not. Still, a plea is made that there is need for battleships and cruisers to protect our widely scattered interests in the East and West, yet there is also a tendency in this to compare ourselves with other countries which may have still larger interests, and hence there will grow up the rivalry which may in the end prove disastrous. Heretofore the policy of our Government had been to have the navy for policing East and protecting our interests in foreign ports and flying our flag in harbors, where the name of the

United States may not have reached. Also, our navy has a splendid record for defending or protecting citizens who, as missionaries or being engaged in commercial pursuits, are living in semi-barbarous countries. So it becomes a question for the American people, does expansion in territory require a corresponding expansion in the navy equipment as the present Administration seems to anticipate in the program brought forth in the 56th Congress? A recent report of the Naval Committee of the House includes the following:

OUR NAVAL POLICY

"We have a navy to-day which includes a considerable number of vessels of every class, and, ship for ship, it will equal that of any navy in the world.

"Seventeen years ago we had practically no facilities for building ships, and what we had were discredited. We were obliged to buy our armament and armor, and even in one case our plans, from foreign countries. To-day we are not only building ships in American shipyards, of American material, by American labor, on American plans for ourselves, but also for some of the leading nations of the world. Such has been the advance which has been made in naval progress in our own country.

"The question may be asked, What shall be our future naval policy? Let us build as we have been building—gradually on broad lines and upon the most advanced ideas of naval construction; not so fast that we will be ahead of the advance of naval progress, but slow enough to secure all the benefits of new improvements and new inventions; or, better still, to do as the American navy has always done when given an opportunity, to lead the march of the best naval construction."

NAVAL PROGRAMME

"For the purpose of further increasing the naval establishment of the United States the Committee recommend that the President be authorized to have built by contract two, sea-going coast line battleships, carrying the heaviest armor and most powerful ordnance for vessels of their class upon a trial displacement of about

13,500 tons, and to have the highest practicable speed and great radius of action, and to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not exceeding \$3,600,000 each ; three armored cruisers of about 13,000 tons trial displacement, carrying the heaviest armor and most powerful ordnance for vessels of their class, and to have the highest practicable speed and great radius of action, and to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not exceeding \$4,250,000 each ; and three protected cruisers of about 8000 tons trial displacement, carrying the most powerful ordnance for vessels of their class, and to have the highest speed compatible with good cruising qualities and great radius of action, and to cost, exclusive of armament, not exceeding \$2,800,000 each." Continuing, the report says :

"The maximum cost of the ships herein authorized, exclusive of armor and armament,, will be \$28,350,000. This is the largest naval programme ever submitted by the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House, and is in accord with the wishes and recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy and Admiral Dewey, and will, we believe, meet the just demands of public sentiment."

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION

The problem of regulating the liquor traffic presented itself in a concrete form by the organization of an independent party in June, 1867, at Pittsburg, Pa. The first convention was held in Columbus, Ohio, some time previous, but the first nomination was made at the convention held in Pittsburg, 1884, when John P. St. John was nominated for the Presidency. Since that time the movement has grown in all the States in the Union, until in the majority of States, and in nearly all large cities and towns, there is an organized effort for the election of officers and legislatures which will regulate the liquor traffic. The most important piece of legislation recently enacted and placed upon the statute books was the act approved March, 1899, by President McKinley, called the Anti-Canteen Law. It was the purpose of the promoters of this act to prohibit the sale of liquor at all army posts through an agency of clubs, or in any way which had the approval and sanction of the

United States Government. A question arose as to the interpretation of this act, some claiming that it did not prohibit the sale of liquor, but only regulated it. President McKinley submitted the law to Attorney General Griggs for an opinion, which he rendered, expressing views contrary to those who had urged the passage of the measure. The following is a concise statement of the Canteen question :

THE CANTEEN QUESTION

In every army post there is a club for the soldiers where they gather socially, read the papers, and may buy extra food and beer. Distilled liquors are not allowed. Army officers claim that this club or canteen cannot be successfully maintained if the sale of beer is prohibited, and furthermore state that if such sale is prohibited the soldiers resort for their club privileges to saloons outside the camp lines, with, as a result, an increase of drunkenness and disorder. Congress, in March, 1899, passed an act which it is claimed prohibited all sale of beer in the canteen. The question as to the meaning of this act was submitted by the President to the Attorney-General of the United States, and he gave it as his legal opinion that the act did not prohibit such sale of beer. The President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, is acting on this opinion in his construction and enforcement of the law.

On this statement of facts, three very different questions are involved, namely : First, Is the canteen to be tolerated or allowed at all? second, Has it been prohibited by Congress? third, What is the duty of the President in the premises?

THREE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

On the first question temperance men are divided in opinion. Those who think that all drinking is wrong, and that all government permission of drinking is reprehensible, are, of course, opposed to the sale of beer in the canteen. Those who believe that the permission to sell beer within army lines lessens the dangers from whisky-shops outside the camp lines, generally believe in the sale

of beer in the canteen. This is the opinion of General Corbin, who believes that "the prohibition of the sale of beer in the post exchange means an increase of whisky-drinking and drunkenness." In support of this he affirms that "a canteen was established at Manilla for the sale of beer, and the beneficial effects therefrom were almost instantaneous. The wine-shops were driven out of business, and the wine-question, so far as our soldiers were concerned, died a natural death."

The second question is whether the Act of Congress approved March 2 prohibits all sale of beer within camp lines. This law provides that "no officer or private soldier shall be detailed to sell intoxicating drinks as a bartender or otherwise, in any post exchange or canteen, nor shall any other person be required or allowed to sell such liquors in any encampment or fort, or on any premises used for military purposes by the United States." This seems clearly explicit and emphatic. It seems to prohibit all sale of liquor in the canteen.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S JUDGMENT

But it is not to the newspaper press, nor to any secular body, that the President is to look for advice respecting the construction of Acts of Congress, but to an officially constituted expert on legal questions appointed for the very purpose of being his legal adviser. This official is the Attorney-General. The Attorney-General has given, in reply to the President's request for information, his legal opinion that this law does not prohibit the sale of beer in the canteen; that it prohibits all detailing of officers or soldiers for the purpose of selling intoxicating liquors, and all licensing of outside parties coming into the encampment to sell such liquors; but does not prohibit the sale within the post under government regulations. Does the President do right in taking his judgment as to the interpretation of the law from the Attorney-General? Doubtless he has a right to over-rule the Attorney-General and should do so in extreme cases. Friends of the measure hold this to be an extreme

case, and that the law plainly intended to prohibit the canteen, and to protect the soldiers from the evils of the liquor traffic under government control. The effect of the agitation brings prominently forward the whole subject of the temperance question.

Whether such an act ought to be passed is a difficult question, on which temperance men will disagree. The testimony given to the public as to the effect of liquor-selling in the canteen is very contradictory. Before Congress acts on the question it will make a careful examination as to these facts, and that it will be governed, not by any *a priori* theory that all drinking of intoxicating liquors is wrong, nor by any theory that government cannot allow such sale without being *particeps criminis*, but by information carefully obtained as to the actual effect of the sale of beer in the post on the character of the men and the discipline of the camp.

Another measure is before the Fifty-sixth Congress to prohibit the sale of liquor in all territory, grounds and buildings controlled by the United States Government. In the recent Act organizing a government for Hawaii, the saloon was prohibited.

STATE OWNERSHIP AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

The condition of the affairs of the Pacific railway, has given some ground for expectation that the Government would take control of this vast transcontinental road, but by patient waiting and consideration of various proposals made, a solution has been found by which the Government has been repaid the principal and a large part of the interest expended for the construction of the line; and the control of the road has been turned over entirely to its stockholders. The issue has been suggested by the Populist party, and been in its several platforms, that the State should assume control of the railroads, and that the telegraphic as well as the post-office system should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people. City railway lines being a great public convenience, and occupying thoroughfares which are public properties, should be so controlled that the tariff charged passengers should not be exorbitant, nor fixed at a rate that would pay dividend to

the stock that has been watered. The same principle seems to be here involved as in all railroads. New York City has practically undertaken to build an underground railway to secure rapid transit to various parts of the city. The success of this enterprise will go far to help solve the problem of public ownership. Several cities of the United States have in one way or another assumed control of city railway lines. The advantages of low tariff rates, the means of public revenue, and greater security and safety for travel which would come from public ownership of *transaction* lines, may be offset by the introducing into our politics, a larger body of public servants, creating thereby greater pressure upon the appointing power. As these employees are also voters, and constitute a very large number, it is naturally feared that they would have undue influence in the making and enforcing of the laws, thereby forwarding their own interests and perpetuating their own power.

Private ownership on the other hand, properly regulated by law, so as not to be allowed to fix tariffs and charges for revenue to pay dividends on stock which represents more than actual value of the property, would preclude the dangers arising from the evil influence of a combination of a large number of public employees. On the other hand, it may be argued that the Civil Service law, properly enforced, would help regulate the public ownership of public necessities. Both political parties when in power have laid themselves open to criticism for the manner and method by which the Civil Service laws have been enforced. Each administration has, however, appeared to do the best it could under the circumstances.

CHAPTER IV.

Vital Issues of the Campaign—Continued

SHALL WE HOLD THE PHILIPPINES

NOW that the Philippines have become a part of the permanent possessions of the United States, the question arises, shall we continue to hold them, or shall we surrender them to their own government, now or in the immediate future, or still further, shall we turn them over to the rule and possession of some other government. Few of the people agree to withdraw in favor of any other government. Perhaps a large number will favor the surrendering of the islands to the Filipinos, as soon as a responsible government in the islands can be organized.

BISHOP POTTER'S VIEWS

BISHOP POTTER, of New York, who at first seemed disposed to antagonize the policy pursued by the administration, and to favor an immediate withdrawal of the United States forces from the islands, made a tour of inspection, in which he visited a factory in Manila, where about 450 Filipino boys and girls were spinning cotton cloth. He was told that they learned to work the looms in about six weeks, where Irish and Scotch children take as many months before they are of any service. The natives seemed to take kindly to manufacturing and industrial pursuits. He expressed his opinion as follows :

“ Whatever we might have done a year or more back, there is but one thing for us to do now, and that is to hold on to the islands and assume the responsibility for their future. The military administration of the islands is beyond praise. General Otis has not received half the recognition to which he is entitled. His position has been one of extreme delicacy. New questions

are arising daily, and he has handled them all with discretion. One thing is evident, and that is that the Filipinos are in no condition for self-government. If a civil government were imposed it would need a large military force to maintain it.

“Several friends of Aguinaldo called upon me in Hong Kong, and they told me that they were satisfied that there could be no success for his undertaking. The better class of Filipinos are satisfied that American occupation means increased prosperity and are not raising any objections.”

MAJOR GENERAL WHEELER, after some months services in the islands, and with ample opportunities of observing the needs and requirements, expresses his opinion as follows :

“I believe that the back of the rebellion in the Philippines is broken ; there will be little more to do in a military way. There will be some guerrilla warfare, but it will not amount to much. As for Aguinaldo, I do not consider him a patriot. He was fighting for great a prize. Had he won, he would have been a powerful emperor, a mighty dictator.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

“As far as possible, I believe that we should establish civil government in the Philippines. I am in favor of territorial government, and I see nothing incongruous in making these various islands into territories. The group should be divided into three or four territories, not only because of the extent of the islands, but because of the antagonisms existing between the different peoples. Some of these tribes have been our devoted friends, and it would be most unfair not to give them the right of self-government. Many of them are already fit for self-government in local affairs, and under territorial governors appointed by us they would get along very well, I am sure.

“I consider the Filipinos a very superior people—a people with great possibilities. They are ambitious ; many of them have been finely educated in Europe ; they are not to be spoken of in the same breath with the Africans, so far as their possibilities go.

They are, too, easily governed, and with the fair treatment which they will receive from us, we shall have no trouble with them. They appreciate consideration, I have found, but they are sensitive and are unwilling to be treated as inferiors. They are a little distrustful of us.

"On the question of ultimate annexation or the remote future of the Philippines—whether States would be erected there or not, in case we annex the islands—I am not yet prepared to speak, but I do think that we owe much to the many citizens of the islands who are not Filipinos and especially to those Filipinos who have been friendly to us. If our army were to be withdrawn from the islands, the natives who have befriended us would be subjected to all sorts of persecutions, and many of them would meet death, all on account of their kindness to us."

THE ALASKA BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The discovery of gold in Alaska has caused a rush to that portion of the territory bordering upon the English possessions.

Immediately there arose disputes between the British and American subjects as to jurisdiction, which threatened serious trouble in settlement. Our Secretary of State endeavored to reach a permanent settlement of this disputed boundary along with other questions at issue with the Canadian Government, but only after much correspondence did the negotiations between our State Department and Lord Salisbury result in an arrangement by which the respective rights of American and Canadian authorities upon the Alaska boundary were determined for the next two years. The boundary in question has never been surveyed, because the lands now in dispute had no value whatever prior to the discoveries in the Klondike. The agreement of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia ambiguously declared that the southern strip of Alaska should be bounded in part "by a line parallel to the winding of the coast." It so happens now that the passes leading to the Klondike are most easily reached through a bay, sixty miles in length and less than six miles wide at the mouth, known as the Lynn

Canal. The fact that the entrance to this bay may be protected by guns from our coasts led the Canadian Commissioners to contend that this bay is not a part of the open sea, and therefore that our right to ten leagues of territory inland means ten leagues from its mouth and not ten leagues from its northern extremity. Our Commissioners, on the other hand, insisted that the shore of this bay is one of the "windings of the coast" spoken of in the treaty of 1825, and their refusal to submit the matter to arbitration unless the umpire was selected from Spanish America resulted in a deadlock and the apparent failure of all our Canadian negotiations. By the present temporary adjustment, Canada is given a port on a tributary of the Lynn Canal, fifteen miles from tide-water. This port can be reached by canoes but not by steamers. The permanent settlement of the boundary still remains to be determined.

THE SAMOAN QUESTION

During the preceding administrations, the Samoan Islands have been governed under a commission representing England, Germany and the United States. This led to many harassing and vexed questions, which have been finally settled by a partition of the islands among the three powers named. By this agreement we have annexed the Island of Tutuila which gives us the magnificent harbor of Panga Panga, where for more than twenty years we have had a coaling station. The treaty was negotiated by Secretary Hay and approved by the United States Senate on January 16th, 1900. There seems to be great unanimity in all parties in the support of this policy, and it probably will elicit very little discussion in the coming campaign. It only adds to our responsibilities in the problem of the proper government of our largely expanded territory.

HAWAII AND ITS GOVERNMENT

Under another chapter there will be found an interesting sketch of this group of islands, which recently has come into the possession of the United States. Under President Harrison's administration, an annexation treaty of Hawaii was negotiated,

which was not ratified, because of President Cleveland's opposition. Under that treaty the Hawaiian group would have become an integral part of the territory of the United States, and the people would have become United States citizens. For a long time, trade had been the reciprocity treaty between the Sandwich Islands and the United States, which made trade practically free between the two countries. Consequently, when in President McKinley's Administration, the islands were annexed by treaty, it was the common expectation that they should have their self-governing institutions, somewhat on the plan of our Territories. Also that they should have some form of representation in the national Government at Washington.

HAWAII A TERRITORY

The act, making Hawaii a territory, provides for a Governor and secretary of the Territory to be appointed by the President. The Governor is authorized to appoint a treasurer and an attorney general. The Legislature is made up of a Senate with fifteen and a House with thirty members. The Governor has the veto power, and there is provision for a judicial system with the right of appeal to the Circuit and Supreme Courts of the United States. The House amendment gives the appointment of Judges to the President instead of the Governor. The sale of liquors in saloons is prohibited.

The Territorial assembly will have power to legislate concerning all local affairs, and a delegate to sit in Congress. According to the latest estimates the persons who will be entitled to suffrage under this law are 10,000 native Hawaiians and 5,300 persons of American and European parentage.

The franchise is granted to citizens of the United States who are able to speak, read and write the English or Hawaiian language. As a means of discrimination against undesirable voters, the device of a poll tax qualification has been resorted to.

The internal revenue and customs laws of the United States are made operative in the Territory of Hawaii. Compulsory labor

is prohibited and contracts enforcing it of later date than August 12, 1898, are declared void.

All of the local laws and institutions shall continue without change, which are not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. Sanford G. Dole has been appointed the first Governor of the new territory.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL

The French have attempted to organize a company for the purpose of building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and have spent large sums of money in making preliminary surveys in preparing to carry on the plans. The distinguished engineer De Lesseps, of the Isthmus of Suez Canal fame, was one of the originators and promoters of the Panama Canal; but unfortunately for his reputation, and that of many others, numerous embezzlements of funds, and dishonest management caused a great scandal, and the work of the French practically came to a stand-still. Following this was agitated the project of constructing a railway across the Isthmus by which vessels would be taken from the dock, and transported overland to the other side. This plan also never materialized. Then followed the organization of large companies in America with large capital for the purpose of securing government aid in the way of subsidies, with a view to constructing a canal at the most feasible point. President McKinley early in the administration appointed a commission of which Admiral Walker was at the head, for the purpose of making surveys and reporting upon the most feasible route. The report has not yet been laid before Congress. In the meantime, Secretary Hay negotiated a treaty with Great Britain which annulled the Bulwer-Clayton treaty, and provided that the United States should construct this canal alone and guarantee its neutrality. By the terms of this treaty no provision was made for defending the canal by fortifications, and when presented to the United States Senate, much opposition arose as to the terms of the treaty, and the administration was criticized. Shall the United States demand full control of the canal which it

proposes to construct at its own expense? The construction of the canal by the measure now before the House, calls for an expenditure which may exceed \$140,000,000, and entail for a number of years a great expense on the part of the United States, and may diminish the expectation that the duties will be lowered.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BOER REPUBLIC

The struggle which has been maintained in South Africa by the people called the Boers, to secure for themselves independence and freedom to act according to their own desires, has called forth great sympathy on the part of the American people. The attitude of this country so far has been that of friendly neutrality. An effort has been made to avoid all entangling alliances in the affairs that are not of our own concern, yet had there been an opportunity, the President would have extended his good offices for bringing about peace. In March the Consul at Pretoria sent an official request for an intervention from the Government of the Republics.

By direction of the President the message from the South African Governments was sent to the British Government, with the message that the United States would be glad to aid in any friendly manner to bring about peace. The Transvaal Government was advised of this action. Lord Salisbury received the communication in a friendly spirit, but replied that her Majesty's Government could not accept the intervention of any power. This answer also was transmitted to the Transvaal Government.

It is important to keep these facts in mind, because an effort will undoubtedly be made to drag the British-Boer controversy into the coming political campaign, and ill-informed or unthinking people may declare that our government refused its good offices in the interest of peace, although, as a matter of fact, it was the only government which responded to the appeal of President Kruger. That it has refused to repeat an offer once rejected is true, and this action is in strict accordance with the peace proposals of The Hague Convention, which authorize an offer of mediation during hostilities, but which also declare:

"The functions of the mediator are at an end when once it is declared, either by one of the parties to the dispute, or by the mediator himself, that the means of reconciliation proposed by him are not accepted."

The final answer of Secretary Hay was given in these words:

"The President sympathizes heartily in the sincere desire of all the people of the United States that the war which is now afflicting South Africa may, for the sake of both parties engaged, come to a speedy close; but, having done his full duty in preserving a strictly neutral position between them and in seizing the first opportunity that presented itself for tendering his good offices in the interests of peace, he feels that in the present circumstances no course is open to him except to persist in the policy of impartial neutrality. To deviate from this would be contrary to all our traditions and all our national interests, and would lead to consequences which neither the President nor the people of the United States could regard with favor."

THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA

Every American voter will be interested in the results secured and the benefits arising from Secretary Hay's negotiation with foreign powers, by which was acquired an equal footing for our commerce in China. There has been an attempt on the part of several European powers to secure a permanent influence over portions of China, to control all grants for the purpose of constructing railroads and developing mines. In acquiring these rights there was danger that the United States would be excluded from its commercial rights with the Chinese. By treaty China had already granted to the United States privileges allowed to the most favored nations, and under this treaty our commerce had thrived. Beginning with September 6, 1899, Secretary Hay had correspondence with the governments of other nations respecting the maintaining an "open door" in China. He secured the assent of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Russia and Japan to the declaration by which each government agrees substantially as follows:

"First. That it will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of interest' or leased territory it may have in China.

"Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such 'spheres of interest' (unless they be 'free ports'), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

"Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such 'sphere' than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled or operated within its 'sphere' on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such 'sphere' than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationality transported over equal distances."

The marvel of this possible triumph of American diplomacy is that the United States has surrendered nothing in acquiring valuable concessions from the powers named. United States will have an equal footing in the Orient and American merchandise can be shipped to, and landed in all Chinese ports where the nations named have their spheres of influence. There will be no discriminating harbor dues or railroad charges. Consequently, the western shore of the Pacific will become the most inviting field for American enterprise, since the Chinese Empire has been opened to our commerce and trade.

TRUSTS

Both capital and labor are interested in all that effects the so-called trusts. For trusts are combinations of capital organized to increase the output of any manufactured article, and for the purpose of securing the largest returns in the cheapest possible way, whether it be in an industrial, in transporting or manufacturing enterprise. In other words, when we consider the subject of trusts, we are considering a combination of capital, as it relates to, and affects all the interests of a country, whether they be large or small.

It is readily understood that large enterprises which command enormous capital and control large territory, have not been the development of a day or a year. The rapid growth of this country has in several periods of time been greater than the ability of individual enterprise could meet. In consequence, there has been going on a union of individuals, to meet this unexpected growth.

Partnership organizations succeeded private enterprise. These were again followed by corporations or stock companies organized under the laws of the respective States, in which the business was to have its principal office. Still again, one corporation has absorbed another corporation, or perhaps included under its influence many other corporations, until a combination was made for the transaction of business, which controlled both the output and the price of a very large product. As soon as these large combinations began to limit the output, for the purpose of raising prices, and which would, at the same time, limit the wages of the laboring class, or as soon as these combinations began to secure absolute control over natural resources or artificial means of transportation, so soon did these combinations appear to become a menace to society. At this time, the term trust came into vogue and in many lines has become the synonym for tyranny on the part of capital and for warfare on the part of labor.

ARGUMENTS FOR TRUSTS

Some of the advantages claimed for the trusts are that they prevent the enormous waste which accompanies small enterprises, often caused by sharp business competition. The saving is made both in the value of the output and in the labor. It is claimed also that the wages of the laborer are increased, and his hours of toil are shortened. An illustration of this is found in railroad service. Inventive genius through the business offered by large combination will be encouraged, and enjoy richer reward for their discoveries. Trusts so far as they have been protected by the tariff have been able to make more rapid progress in entering markets of the world and increasing our trade. It is also claimed that the rates of

interest have been materially reduced since the organization of trusts, and idle money of the people at large can be invested at profit in purchasing stock in these enterprises. The Standard Oil Company, which practically controls the output of petroleum in this country by owning a large portion of the oil lands is quoted as an illustration of the advantages of trusts. Their investment includes thousands of miles of pipe line, tank capacity for millions of gallons oil, by which the oil is delivered at the seaboard at the minimum cost, and has reduced the price of oil seventy-five per cent. since the corporation was organized. It gives employment to 30,000 American laborers, pays \$100,000 a day in wages, and exports 1,000,000,000 gallons of oil, which brings about \$60,000,000 of gold into this country.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST

On the other hand, those who are opposed to trusts, claim that it does not necessarily reduce the price of manufactured articles, for it destroys competition. It chokes out the small dealer and destroys the independence of labor. It does not give every man a fair chance for the development of his own energy and idea. It becomes a menace to our national life as the influence of capital may enter, if it has not already entered into legislative halls to influence legislation. It puts into the hands of a few men, power over the industrial life of the country, and enables them by manipulation of the stock market to deprive the small investor of what is due him from the profits. The discrimination of the railroads has shown over and over again the unfair advantages a party may have over his competitor. It is reasonably claimed that the inventor who is working outside of the trusts is practically kept out of the market with his new product, because of the influence of combinations using another article.

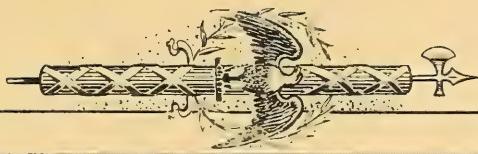
In regard to the Oil Trust, it is claimed that the difference in price between crude and refined petroleum decreased ten cents a gallon in the ten years before the organization of the trust, when competition was free. No sooner was the trust fully organized

(1882) than this rapid decrease was arrested. In 1883 the difference in price between the crude and refined oil was 5.52 cents, and in the succeeding ten years it had declined to 4.72—a decrease of but three-quarters of a cent. While the trust is obliged to accommodate its export prices of crude and refined petroleum to Russian competition, it is enabled to maintain the price of the refined article against American consumers. The defender of the oil trust will hardly pretend that the Standard Oil Company has caused the great cheapness of Russian petroleum.

But in sugar the evil effects of monopolistic control are quite as plainly seen. The American Sugar Refining Company does not produce any raw sugar. It buys the raw cane and beet sugars in the world's open markets, and the high protective duties enable the trust to maintain the price of its refined product against American consumers. In 1887—the year before the trust was organized—the difference in price between raw and refined sugar was 64 cents per hundred pounds. In 1889—the year after the organization of the trust—the difference was 1.32 cents. It dropped to 70 and 73 cents in 1890 and 1891 respectively; was \$1.03 in 1892, \$1.15 in 1893, 88 cents in 1894 and 1895 and 91 cents in 1896. In consequence of the warfare with the Arbuckles the margin of profit has been somewhat reduced; but should the negotiations which are in progress be consummated the trust would be able to again increase the difference in price between the raw sugar it buys and the refined product which it sells.

HOW SHALL THE TRUSTS BE REGULATED?

Recognizing the fact that trusts have their advantages as well as their serious disadvantages, a large number of people still believe that they should be regulated so as to meet the best interests of combinations of capital, and also, of individual enterprise and labor. One of the methods proposed for this regulation is one which the leaders of the Republican party have brought forward, a law by which they propose to exclude trusts from privileges of inter-state commerce, and also prohibit the use of the mails to all



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SENATOR FROM MISSOURI.





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SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA.

corporations declared by the courts to be trusts. Amendment of the Constitution, to be called the 16th Amendment, has been offered. It is as follows:

THE SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT

The amendment as reported to the House proposes the following as Article XVI. of the Constitution:

"Section 1. All powers conferred by this article shall extend to the several States, the Territories, the District of Columbia, and all territory under the sovereignty and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to define, regulate, control, prohibit or dissolve trusts, monopolies or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise.

"The several States may continue to exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States.

"Section 3. Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

The Democratic Party while agreeing with the proposed act for the regulation of trusts, oppose the proposed amendment to the Constitution on the ground that it would restrict the power of the States to deal with monopolies as they might see fit. The States Rights idea may again come into prominence; powers of the State should not be lessened that the powers of the National Government may be increased. To become a part of our fundamental law, this amendment must be passed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and approved by the State Legislatures, or *conventions* of two-thirds of the States. Probably no more interesting and valuable information on the trust problem can be secured, than from the report of the Chicago Conference on trusts, held in September, 1899. In another chapter we give the discussion submitted by Hon. Burke Cochran, and William Jennings Bryan.

CHAPTER V.

Financial Legislation Since 1870—The Gold Bill of March 14, 1900.

Set forth and discussed by
HONORABLE LYMAN B. GAGE,
Secretary of Treasury.

I HAVE sometimes thought that no more interesting story could be written for the business man of to-day than one which should faithfully portray in graphic terms the struggles, vicissitudes, anxieties, triumphs and defeats of some merchant or manufacturer of large affairs during the last thirty years.

Thomas Benton left behind him a valuable record of his political experience in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate." Mr. Blaine did a similar work in his "Twenty Years in Congress." The memoirs of Generals Grant and Sherman give to us the story of varied movements by contesting armies upon many bloody battle-fields. But no one to my knowledge has recorded with any fidelity the dramatic movements to which by outward influences the life of the business man has been subjected since the years 1865 or 1870. The business man I know is nowhere regarded as a hero or a statesman. He neither makes laws nor conducts military campaigns. He is so common a factor in the operations of ordinary life that he fails to attract the public eye. Nevertheless, within the range of his activities the wisdom of the statesman and the courage of the war leader are often required of him. If he cannot make law he must always be on the alert to watch the laws that are made. If such laws touch upon the field of economics he must anticipate their action and adjust his affairs to their operation and anticipated

effects. If he cannot direct the movement of armies and win at once victory and fame, he must be quick to know the commercial effect of battles, sieges and long-drawn campaigns. The last thirty years have been to him a period of dangerous vissitudes and peculiar trials. I want to call your attention to some of these, though the full and exciting story must be left to the historical student.

CURRENCY IN 1870

In the year 1870 all business affairs were carried on in the United States with a medium of exchange entirely dislocated from the world's money standard. Prices of all commodities, wares and labor service were stated in terms of an irredeemable currency. All time accounts were payable in the same money. And yet in itself that money was no true measurer of the values which it served to transfer. Every commodity having in any of its parts or as a whole a value in foreign markets was really measured by its price in gold in the world's market. The value of the "greenback" was itself related to gold, and upon the unsettled sea of the public credit the value of our domestic money rose and fell. Goods or manufactures sold one day at an apparent profit on their previous cost could not on the day or the week following be replaced with the amount received in payment.

Have you ever studied the oscillations in value of that instrument of exchange by which, perforce, all our domestic trade and commerce was conducted? Let us glance at the records. On January 1, 1862, the greenback was worth 100 cents in gold. In twelve months it fell 31 per cent. The next seven months it advanced 15 per cent. on its previous price. The next five months afterward it fell 18 per cent. Then in six months more it fell 40 per cent. In the next six months it advanced 20 per cent. Then in six months more it fell 40 per cent. The next six months it advanced 52 per cent. In the next twelve months it fell 6 per cent. The next six months it rose 13 per cent. Then it rose 10 per cent. in three years—that is, for January, 1870, it stood at 82.4. It then in two years rose 11 per cent. In January, 1875, it was rated as

worth 89.9. From that year, when the resumption act was passed, the oscillations were less marked, a range of from 5 to 7 per cent. per annum with a general upward movement to January 1, 1879, when once more \$1 in greenbacks would command \$1 in gold.

While I have noted these fluctuations by convenient periods, it must not be forgotten that each and every day between the periods there were minor but constant fluctuations. With what certainty of direction could the mariner sail his ship if the compass by which he reckoned was subject to such lawless aberrations? At noon each day he could determine by the sun how far he was off his course, but this would always be after the fact. It would not help his calculations for the morrow. No wonder men mistook loss for profit and profit for loss.

LOSS IN TRADE

The dilemma in which an humble German friend of mine found himself was almost unavoidable. It illustrates a frequent situation of affairs at the time. He said: "I'm what you call in a fix. I don't know if I get rich or I get poor. A little while ago I had 200 pieces cotton cloth which cost me \$2,000. I sell 'em out and have \$3,000. That looks pretty well, but when I buy again my \$3,000 only buy 180 pieces. Every time I sell out I have more money than before; every time I buy in I have less goods. If I keep this up long enough, by and by I will have plenty money, but the money will perhaps buy no goods at all. How is that?"

Under such conditions trade degenerated into mere speculation. Every fall in the value of the money was at once expressed, or ought to have been expressed, by a rise in the price of commodities. Those who bought most largely on credit and made the fewest sales realized profits in excess of the legitimate and careful trader, who had a conscience about credit, and who believed it was the business of a merchant to distribute his wares. Inventories showed wealth in figures. They encouraged extravagance, but in many cases the wealth in figures became the father of bankruptcy in fact. By the year 1873 the bitter fruits of the artificial condition appeared.

The simulacrum of prosperity was dissolved. The system of credits, extended and enlarged by years of rising prices, fell into ruin. Merchants, manufacturers, bankers and transportation lines one after another shared a common fate.

Those who succeeded in carrying their imperiled interests over the period of blight without ruin were obliged to write off losses which required years of industrious effort to make good. In the great reaction to industry the laborer and the artisan suffered in silence while they waited in idleness for the broken lines to be reformed. Let us glance at the results as indicated by the bankruptcy tables including and immediately following that fateful year 1873. In 1872, the year prior to the collapse, the liabilities of insolvent debtors aggregated \$121,000,000. In 1873 they rose to \$228,000,000. Including with 1873 the five succeeding years the total liabilities of insolvent debtors were upward of \$1,200,000,000, or an average of \$200,000,000 per year. The four years following 1878, after the wrecks of broken fortunes had been cleared away, aggregated \$346,000,000, or an average of less than \$90,000,000 per annum. No series of four years since 1875 shows such disasters as from 1875 to 1879 until we come to 1893. In that year alone the liabilities of insolvents aggregated nearly \$347,000,000, while it, with the three years following showed a total of \$918,000,000.

COINAGE LAWS REVISED.

Looking backward now it appears a strange coincidence that in that same year, 1873, a piece of legislation should have been inaugurated which was in after years to save the country from a repetition of the injurious effects of a rapidly depreciating money. In that year the coinage laws were revised, and with no comprehension of the great economic consequences involved in it the unit of value was made to consist of gold, while the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage.

Great efforts have been made to prove that this action was the result of a wicked scheme of the money power. However wicked the money power may be, it does not deserve credit for omniscience,

and omniscience alone could have foreseen that the commercial value of the silver dollar, then greater than its yellow brother, gold, would steadily decline to a fraction of its then equivalent. Whether this legislative act was purely fortuitous, or whether it was a providential interposition at a critical period of our national life, the event was one of far-reaching importance. Had it not occurred as it did, and when it did, there is no room whatever to doubt that after climbing the hill to specie payments in 1879, we should have repeated, through the effect of silver as our standard money, the losses and crosses which marked the depreciation of our paper money from 1864 to 1879. It is very certain that if the coinage act of 1873 had been delayed five years, or even three years, it would never have been adopted.

THE PANIC APPROACHES

The proof lies in the frantic efforts of a powerful party to secure a repeal of that act. The effort began in 1878, when silver had already fallen in price. That effort has not been relaxed to this day, though faith in its success is giving way. Notwithstanding the failure to secure the free coinage at our mints, at the old ratio of 16 to 1, the effort to achieve that result has been, until a recent period, a most disturbing influence upon business affairs. The legislative struggle for free coinage began in 1878. Though unsuccessful, it forced injurious compromises. The Bland act of 1878 required the purchase and coinage by the Government of \$2,000,000 in silver per month. The so-called Sherman act of 1890 required the purchase of not less than 4,500,000 ounces per month. The total effect of these doings was to force into the channels of circulation something more than \$500,000,000, nominal value, in money, the real value of which in the world's market is now less than one-half that sum. The great loss involved in the transaction has been assumed by the Government as it ought to have been, since it is right that the risk and burden of a public folly should be distributed over all the people.

I refer to this long-drawn campaign not so much because of its direct economic unwisdom, but more especially because of its deranging and depressing influence upon industry and trade. During the long period from '78 to '93, when the act was repealed, there was constant fear that our finances would degenerate to what is popularly called the silver basis. This fear intimidated capital, restricted enterprise and gave to all engaged in business activities a sense of doubt and apprehension.

The fear to which I allude acted with varying degrees of evil force at different periods, as the prospects for success to the propaganda improved or declined.

In 1893, when the repeal of the Sherman law hung in the balances, the fear culminated in the most destructive panic in our history. It may not be just to ascribe that business reaction to the silver question alone. Depression and reaction will come as the natural result of overtrading, speculation and injudicious credit. These causes no doubt co-operated to produce the panic of 1893, but they were intensely aggravated by the silver question, so-called.

The year 1896 witnessed in a milder form the commercial experiences of 1893, and it is not unjust to charge the perturbation of 1896 to the fear that a revolution in our standard money was at hand.

ABERRATIONS IN THE VALUE OF SILVER

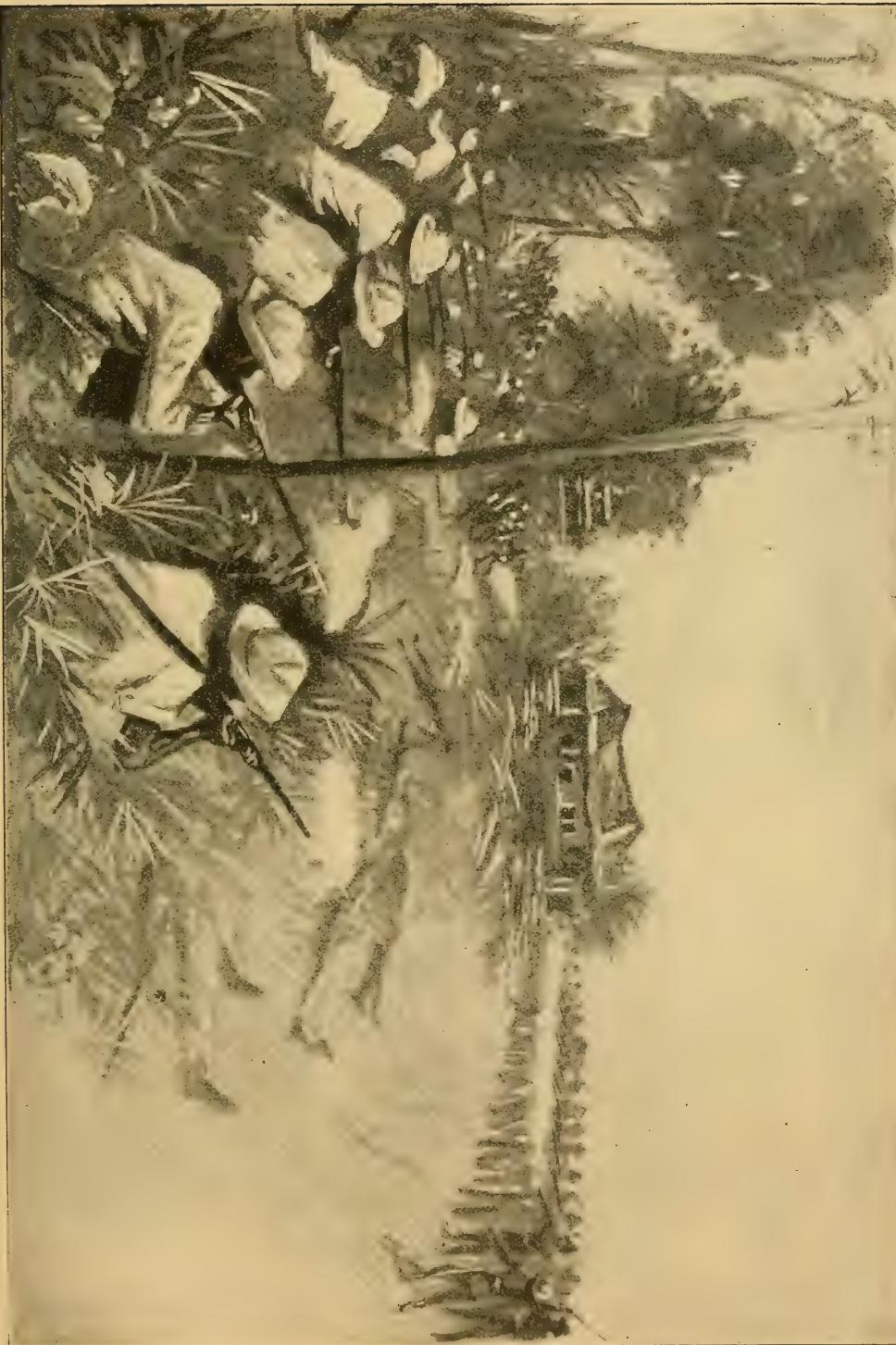
My talk is intended to indicate in a measure the vicissitudes and trials to business men for the last thirty years. If I dwell upon the money question it is because it has been the most disturbing and deranging of influences during that period of time. The most important condition to legitimate trade and industry is the condition of stability. Stability as to public order and stability in the money of accounts. I have shown the injurious fluctuation in value of the greenback, measured by the world's standard, during the years 1864 to 1879. I want to point to the aberrations in the value of silver, measured by the world's standard money, during the period since 1879.

It is claimed, I know, that the free coinage of silver in our mints would have checked all perturbations in the value of gold and silver, but this is not insisted upon by the more serious and thoughtful of the advocates of free coinage. We may admit for argument's sake that the disparities in value would not have been so great, or at least not so rapidly realized, but we cannot ignore the fact that wide and fluctuating differences would have remained, and that with our domestic affairs carried on with silver as the standard of payment we would have been subjected to the deranging influences of prices stated in terms of a money constantly fluctuating in its relations to the world's money, by which the world's values are measured, and by which our own values are really measured also. It is not especially important, but it is interesting to notice what we have escaped.

GOLD SAVED OUR CREDIT

I have pointed out the disturbing and injurious effect of a depreciated paper money. It will be seen that a depreciated metallic money would have been scarcely less injurious. I will pass by any consideration of the shock and loss of the change from the gold to the silver standard and refer only to the fluctuations in silver as measured by the world's money, gold, during the years 1873 to 1893. In 1873 the silver in a silver dollar would buy in the market one dollar and one and six-tenths cents in gold. In 1878 the silver in a silver dollar would buy but 89.2 cents in gold. In 1883 it would buy 85.8; in 1888 72.7; In 1893 60.4, and in 1896 the silver in a dollar could buy but 45.6 cents in gold. Between these dates there were continuous oscillations in relative value up and down between silver and gold. The range of fluctuations was much more limited than that experienced with our irredeemable paper, but was violent enough to cause a constant and deeply injurious derangement to trade and industry.

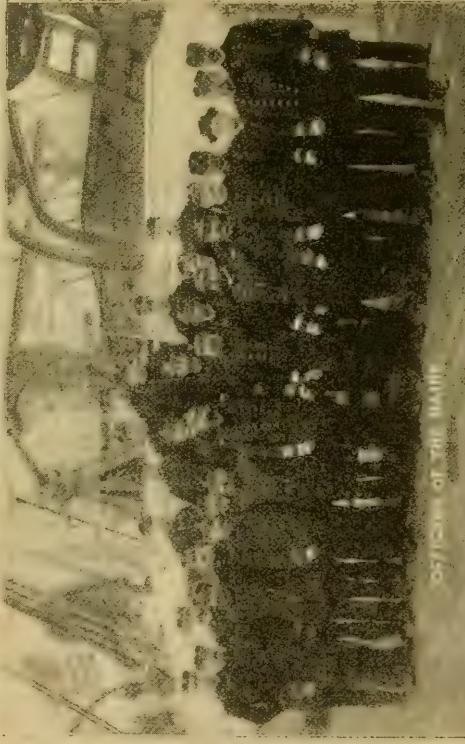
Constantly in peril, our domestic money of account has nevertheless been steadily maintained by the public credit on an even parity with the world standard, gold. The act of Congress, which,



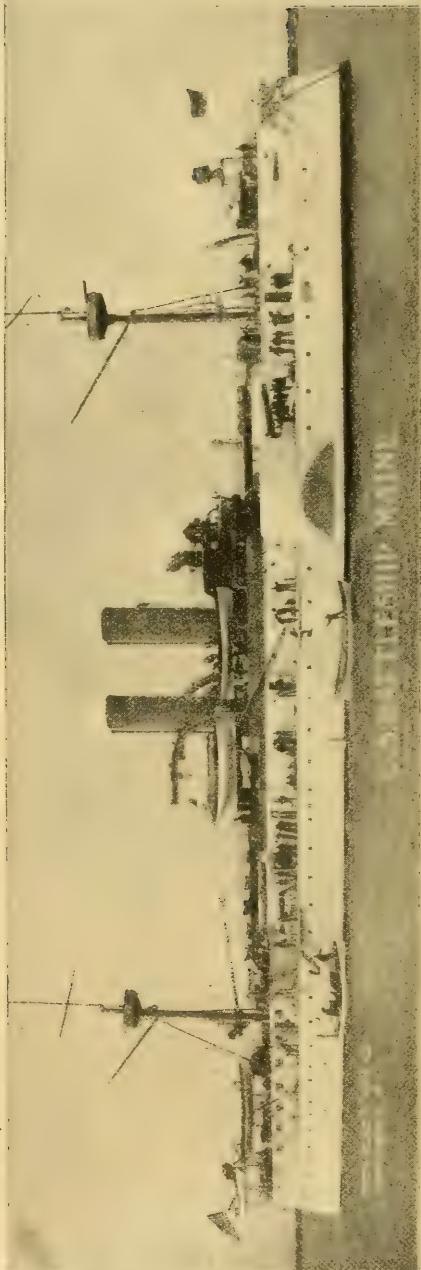
FIRST BATTLE BETWEEN AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS, FEBRUARY 4 AND 5, 1899

Sunday, February 5, 1899, our first battle with the Filipinos occurred. This battle began between the outposts the night before, but it was the next day that it raged in its fury, and the Americans closed the day with less than fifty killed and less than 300 wounded, while the Filipinos lost over 3,000 killed and wounded, and more than 4,000 prisoners.

GEN. FITZHUGH LEE



OFFICERS OF THE U.S.A.T.



This magnificent second-class battleship was blown up in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898 and 266 American sailors lost their lives through the explosion. The vessel was popularly believed that the ship was destroyed through Spanish treachery; and this sentiment did much to hasten the Spanish-American War.

by the approval of the President, became the law on March 14, 1900, sets at rest this disturbing question of the standard. Unless the credit of the Government shall utterly fail, the assurance is absolute that for at least six years we are safe from change. The business man may now know that his goods, sold on four months' credit, will be paid for in money equal in value to that represented in the goods sold. The foundation of credit and commerce is at last secure. All our kinds of money are equal in value with one another, and all alike are as good as gold.

In addition to the disconcerting influences already referred to, it is proper to put some emphasis upon the deranging effect of tariff changes. Of these, during the thirty-year period, there have been several of a radical character. I cannot speak of them at length, nor will I undertake to discuss the economic theories by which the more radical changes have been justified in the opinion of the political power which inaugurated them. Whether meritorious in fact and ultimately of general benefit, every such change is the cause of economic disturbance to the commercial and industrial status quo. They give at least great temporary advantage to the few at the cost and loss of the many.

CAUSES OF DISTRESS

There were several modifications and revisions in the war tariff between the years 1862 and 1876. These modifications occurred in the years 1864, 1865, 1867, 1870, 1872 and 1875. In 1883 there was a general revision of the tariff laws which carried a considerable reduction in the rates of duty. Seven years after—1890—radical changes were made by which duties were largely increased. Again, in 1894, what was known as the Wilson act worked a large reduction in the average rates of the McKinley tariff. Four years after the Dingley act of 1898 took the place of the Wilson act, and the rates therein established now continue to be the law.

I cannot stop to more than suggest the several periods during the last thirty years when sudden derangements have occurred from causes outside of those enumerated. In 1871 the Chicago fire

destroyed \$200,000,000 of existing capital. Through the beneficence of insurance, and by reason of a wide-spreading network of relationship through credit and otherwise; the strain of the loss was widely distributed. Yet it brought financial ruin to thousands. In 1884 the failure of a great bank in New York caused a forced liquidation, which involved serious losses to many. In 1890 the Barings in London suspended payment, with liabilities of \$150,000,000. While the shock of this disaster was much softened by the courageous action of the Bank of England and its associates, the depressing effect of the failure on industrial undertakings was felt throughout the civilized world.

In 1894, when our domestic business life was fairly emerging from the dark days which followed 1893, the Venezuela message brought us suddenly face to face with the possibilities of war with our best customer. Politically considered, the message may have been justified; I am not considering that question. I think it, however, safe to affirm that, economically looked at, it was a severe blow to reviving industry. It developed a new crisis in commercial affairs and seriously impeded the revival of business.

In 1898 we faced the actualities of war with all its possibilities of cost in treasure and loss in precious lives. Again was the man of business affairs and responsibilities compelled to forecast contingencies and consequences, which it required the gift of fore-knowledge to properly comprehend.

WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED

This brief review of the business man's campaign of thirty years is not inspiring. It is as if in a review of our struggle for national unity we pointed to Manassas, Fredericksburg or Cold Harbor. There is another side to both stories. From the varied results of many hard-fought battles our "boys in blue" came marching home again. Victory crowned their banners and the nation's life was saved. They left behind the dead—dead from disease and battle stroke—but in the grand review the pean of triumph alone was heard.

Is it putting too much strain upon the metaphor to speak of the rank and file of business men in a similar way? The army of the Union contended in war, the army of business men struggled in the domain of peace, but anxiety and risk were always present, while ruin not unfrequently overtook them. From these dangers many fell; their names forgotten, but the survivors can pass in review, with honorable success inscribed npon the roll. In both war and peace the individual has been sacrificed, but the country remains. And now in a more cheerful vein I want to summarize the results of these thirty years of industrial efforts and business enterprise.

Since 1870 the population has increased substantially 100 per cent. That figure, 100 per cent., makes a convenient standard from which to measure our progress in the development of wealth and the progress of our material and moral forces. Notwithstanding individual casualties, the nation as a whole has greatly advanced.

TELLING FIGURES

While the population has increased 100 per cent. the annual expenditures in the cause of public education have increased 227 per cent. The number of newspapers and periodicals, 261 per cent. The number of post offices, 163 per cent. The receipts of the Post Office Department, although postal rates have been lowered, were 380 per cent. greater last year than in 1870. The number of telegrams showed an increase of 739 per cent. The miles of railroad operated in 1870 were 52,822; in 1899 they were 186,810, an increase of 253 per cent. The increase in tons of freight carried one mile shows an increase in twenty years of 192 per cent.; we have no data prior to 1880; while the freight rate per ton per mile fell 61 per cent. While in general the vessel tonnage shows no gain, but a serious decline, it is notable that the tonnage by water through the Sault Ste Marie Canal increased 3,000 per cent. In agriculture, wheat and corn have not much increased beyond the ratio of increase in population. The diversity of products has greatly increased. In cotton during the thirty

years there has been an increase of 300 per cent., while population was increased 100 per cent.

GROWTH OF MANUFACTURING

Our growth in manufacturing has some remarkable illustrations. Our own cotton mills in 1870 used 857,000 bales. In 1899 they consumed 3,632,000 bales, an increase of 324 per cent. In 1870 we converted 583,000 pounds of raw silk into finished products. In 1899 we used 11,236,000 pounds, an increase of 1825 per cent. We used in manufactures last year 42,000,000 more pounds of crude rubber than in 1870, a growth of 431 per cent. The production of pig iron shows an increase of 607 per cent. The manufacture of steel grew from less than 69,000 in 1870 to nearly 13,000,000 tons in 1899, an increase of 12,893 per cent. For the same period the production of coal grew from 33,000,000 tons to 196,000,000 tons, an increase of 498 per cent. The production of petroleum increased from 185,000,000 gallons in 1870 to 2,000,325,000 gallons in 1898—a growth of 1,100 per cent. The development of our manufacturing interests is best indicated, perhaps, by the increase in our export of manufactures. They increased from a valuation of \$68,000,000 in 1870 to \$338,000,000 in 1899, or 396 per cent. Taking our foreign commerce as a whole, we have an export value in 1870 of \$392,000,000, against \$1,227,000,000 in 1899—an increase of 212 per cent., while during the same periods our imports increased but 60 per cent. Taken as a whole, for the four-year period, 1895 to 1899, the value of our exports was \$1,534,000,000 in excess of our imports.

Our internal domestic trade has shared in a similar development. The total freight carried one mile in 1898 exceeded the amount carried in 1895 by 26,000,000,000 tons. This increase required the use of 300 trains, each loaded to the extent of 1,000 tons running continuously twenty-four hours each day through the entire year. But I will not burden you with further illustrations of our great development. The facts submitted are startling in their nature, and full of encouragement for the future. They prove

the truth of the somewhat hackneyed phrase, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." These triumphs of peace have been gained, as I have shown, amid many depressing influences. What might they not have been as the result of these years since 1860 could peace have prevailed, could the aberrations and vicissitudes caused by a bad money system have been avoided? We need not, however, repine. We have no complications with any foreign power, threatening our peace or disturbing our commerce. The tokens of industrial prosperity appear on every hand. The revenues of the Government are more than sufficient for all public requirements. The credit of the commercial community is such as to give a sense of freedom and security to commercial activities. Are we, therefore, safe in the future from the injurious influences which have disturbed the past? It would be gratifying to answer that question in the affirmative, but it cannot be so answered.

The problems of life never cease. Old errors are resurrected, and clothed in new garb, afflict society until again laid to rest. Changing conditions also beget new problems. Prejudice and a lack of knowledge obscure the way. Some of these problems are immediately before us. The labor question, transportation, combinations of capital, are the names of those most prominent. They all bear directly upon our future well-being. They all require wisdom, sincerity, and the love of justice for their right solution. How great are the responsibilities of a free state! Endowed with the power of self-direction, the capacity for self-injury is never absent. The only guide to safety is the truth. In the field of production and exchange economic principles must be recognized and obeyed. Majority votes cannot alter them. To carefully study these principles with an earnest desire to know the truth concerning them and learning the truth, to employ all energy in making it known among all the people are duties resting with solemn force upon the business men of America. They are duties which apathy and indifference will seek to avoid, but which patriotism and courage will gladly assume.

The Gold Bill of March 14, 1900

An Analysis of the New Law. Its Provisions and Probable Effect on Business.

THE Financial law, has for its object what its title indicates, the fixing of the standard of value and the maintaining at a parity with that standard of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States. It reaffirms that the unit value is the dollar, consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, but from that point it goes on to make it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain all forms of money issued or coined at a parity with this standard. It puts into the hands of the Secretary ample power to do that. For that purpose the bill provides in the Treasury bureaus of issue and redemption, and transfers from the general fund of the Treasury's cash \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion to the redemption fund, that gold to be used for the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes. That fund is henceforth absolutely cut out of and separated from the cash balance in the Treasury, and the available cash balance will hereafter show a reduction of \$150,000,000 from the figures that have heretofore prevailed. This \$150,000,000 redemption fund is to be used for no other purpose than the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes, and those notes so redeemed may be exchanged for gold in the general fund or with the public so that the reserve fund is kept full with gold at \$150,000,000 limit.

THE "ENDLESS CHAIN" BROKEN

The Secretary is given further power. If redemptions go on so that the gold in this reserve fund is reduced below \$100,000,000, and he is unable to build it up to the \$150,000,000 mark by exchange for gold in the general fund or otherwise, he is given

power to sell bonds, and it is made his duty to replenish the gold to the \$150,000,000 mark by such means.

The "endless chain" is broken by a provision which prohibits the use of notes so redeemed to meet deficiencies in current revenues. The act provides for the ultimate retirement of all the Treasury notes issued in payment for silver bullion under the Sherman act. As fast as that bullion is coined into silver dollars Treasury notes are to be retired and replaced with an equal amount of silver certificates.

The measure authorizes the issue of gold certificates in exchange for deposits of gold coin, the same as at present, but suspends that authority whenever and so long as the gold in the redemption fund is below \$100,000,000, and gives to the Secretary the option to suspend the issue of such certificates whenever the silver certificates and United States notes in the general fund of the Treasury exceeds \$60,000,000.

The bill provides for a larger issue of silver certificates, by declaring that hereafter silver certificates shall be issued only in denominations of \$10 and under, except as to 10 per cent. of the total volume. Room is made for this larger use of silver certificates in the way of small bills by another provision which makes it necessary as fast as the present silver certificates of high denominations are broken up into small bills to cancel a similar volume of United States notes of small denominations, and replace them with notes of denominations of \$10 and upwards. Further room is made for the circulation of small silver certificates by a clause which permits national banks to have only one-third of their capital in denomination under \$10.

SUBSIDIARY SILVER COINAGE

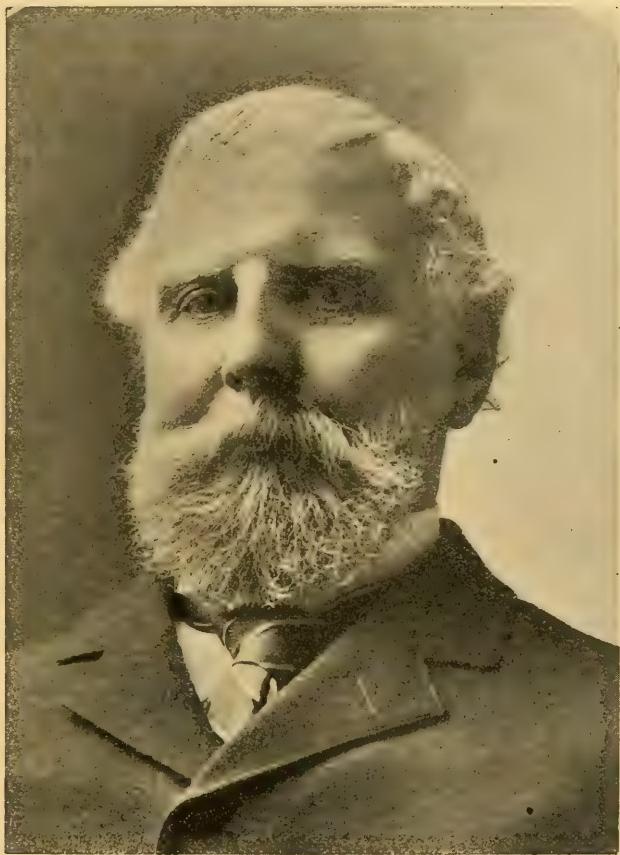
One clause of the bill which the public will greatly appreciate is the right that it gives to the Secretary to coin any of the 1890 bullion into subsidiary silver coins up to a limit of \$100,000,000. There has for years been a scarcity of subsidiary silver during periods of active retail trade, but this provision will give the

Treasury ample opportunity to supply all the subsidiary silver that is needed. Another provision that the public will greatly appreciate is the authority given to the Secretary to recoin worn and uncircumstances subsidiary silver now in the Treasury or hereafter received. The bill makes a continuing appropriation for paying the difference between the face value of such coin and the amount the same will produce in the new coin.

A distinct feature of the bill is in reference to refunding the 3 per cent. Spanish war loan, the 2 per cent. bonds maturing in 1907 and the 5 per cent. bonds maturing in 1904, a total of \$839,000,000, into new 2 per cent. bonds. These new 2 per cent. bonds will not be offered for sale, but will only be issued in exchange for an equal amount, face value, of old bonds. The holders of old bonds will receive a premium in cash, to compensate them in a measure for the sacrifice of interest which they make. That cash premium will be computed on a basis of the present worth of the old bonds at $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and will begin on April 1, 1900, the date that the new 2 per cent. bonds will bear \$105.6851 for the 3s, \$111.6765 for the 4s and \$110.0751 for each \$100 of the 5s. This exchange will save the Government, after deducting the premium paid, nearly \$23,000,000, if all the holders of the old bonds exchange them for the new ones. National banks that take out circulation based on new bonds are to be taxed only one-half of 1 per cent. on the average amount of circulation outstanding, while those who have a circulation based on a deposit of old bonds will be taxed, as at present, 1 per cent.

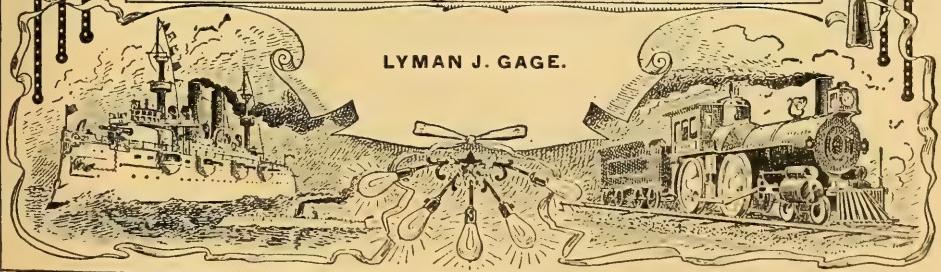
CHANGES IN THE BANKING LAW

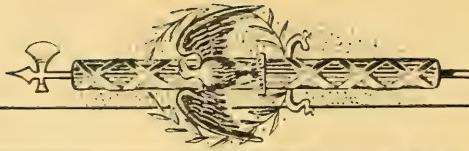
There are some other changes in the National Banking act. The law permits national banks with \$25,000 capital to be organized in places of 3000 inhabitants or less, whereas heretofore the minimum capital has been \$50,000. It also permits banks to issue circulation on all classes of bonds deposited up to the par value of the bonds, instead of 90 per cent. of their face, as heretofore. This ought to make an immediate increase in national bank circulation of something like \$24,000,000, as the amount of bonds now deposited secure



SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY UNDER PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

LYMAN J. GAGE.





JOHN D. LONG.
SEC. OF THE NAVY UNDER PRES. MCKINLEY.

MELL & SCHAFFER - PHA

MELL & SCHAFFER - PHA



JOHN HAY.
SEC. OF STATE UNDER PRES. MCKINLEY.



circulation of about \$242,000,000. If the price of the new 2s is not forced so high in the market that there is no profit left to national banks in taking out circulation, we may also look for a material increase in national bank circulation based on additional deposits of bonds.

National banks are permitted under the law to issue circulation up to an amount equal to their capital. The total capital of all national banks is \$616,000,000. The total circulation outstanding is \$253,000,000. There is, therefore, a possibility of an increase in circulation of \$363,000,000, although the price of the new 2 per cent. bonds, as already foreshadowed by market quotations in advance of their issue, promises to be so high that the profit to the banks in taking out circulation will not be enough to make the increase anything like such a possible total.

CHAPTER VI.

The Money Question by William J. Bryan*

IT is scarcely necessary to defend the principle of bimetallism. Three parties—the Democratic, Populist and Silver parties—have not only declared for bimetallism, but have outlined the specific legislation necessary to restore silver to its ancient position by the side of gold. The Republican platform (of 1896) expressly declared that bimetallism is desirable when it pledged the Republican party to aid in securing it as soon as the assistance of certain foreign nations could be obtained. Those who represented the minority sentiment in the Chicago Convention opposed the free coining of silver by the United States by independent action on the ground that, in their judgment, it “would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetallism, *to which the efforts of the government should be steadily directed.*” When they asserted that the efforts of the government should be steadily directed toward the establishment of international bimetallism, they condemned monometallism. The gold standard has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Take from it the powerful support of the money-owning and the money-changing classes, and it cannot stand for one day in any nation in the world.

A JUST STANDARD OF VALUE

It cannot be successfully claimed that monometallism or bimetallism, or any other system, gives an absolutely just standard of value. Under both monometallism and bimetallism the government fixes the weight and fineness of the dollar, invests it with legal-tender qualities, and then opens the mints to its unrestricted coinage, leaving the purchasing power of the dollar to be determined by the number of dollars. Bimetallism is better than monometallism, not because it gives us a perfect dollar—that is, a dollar

* Abridged from an address delivered in New York.

absolutely unvarying in its general purchasing power—but because it makes a nearer approach to stability, to honesty, to justice, than a gold standard possibly can. Any legislation which lessens the world's stock of standard money increases the exchangeable value of the dollar; therefore, the crusade against silver must inevitably raise the purchasing power of money and lower the money value of all other forms of property. Our opponents sometimes admit it was a mistake to demonetize silver, but insist that we should submit to present conditions rather than return to the bimetallic system. They err in supposing that we have reached the end of the evil results of a gold standard; we have not reached the end. The injury is a continuing one, and no person can say how long the world is to suffer from the attempt to make gold the only standard money. The same influences which are now operating to destroy silver in the United States will, if successful here, be turned against other silver-using countries, and each new convert to the gold standard will add to the general distress. So long as the scramble for gold continues, prices must fall, and a general fall in prices is but another definition of hard times.

TAXES HAVE NOT BEEN PERCEPTIBLY DECREASED

The farmers are opposed to the gold standard because they have felt its effects. Since they sell at wholesale and buy at retail they have lost more than they have gained by falling prices, and, besides this, they have found that certain fixed charges have not fallen at all. Taxes have not been perceptibly decreased, although it requires more of farm products now than formerly to secure the money with which to pay taxes. Debts have not fallen. The farmer who owed \$1,000 is still compelled to pay \$1,000 although it may be twice as difficult as formerly to obtain the dollars with which to pay the debt. Railroad rates have not been reduced to keep pace with falling prices, and besides these items there are many more. The farmer has thus found it more difficult to live. Has he not a just complaint against the gold standard?

The wage-earners have been injured by a gold standard, and have expressed themselves upon the subject with great emphasis. In February, 1895, a petition asking for the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at 16 to 1 was signed by the representatives of all, or nearly all, the leading labor organizations and presented to Congress. Wage-earners know that while a gold standard raises the purchasing power of the dollar it also makes it more difficult to obtain possession of the dollar; they know that employment is less permanent, loss of work more probable and re-employment less certain. A gold standard encourages the hoarding of money because money is rising; it also discourages enterprise and paralyzes industry.

RESTORATION OF BIMETALLISM WILL DISCOURAGE HOARDING

On the other hand, the restoration of bimetallism will discourage hoarding, because, when prices are steady or rising, money can not afford to lie idle in the bank vaults. The farmers and wage-earners together constitute a considerable majority of the people of the country. Why should their interests be ignored in considering financial legislation? A monetary system which is pecuniarily advantageous to a few syndicates has far less to commend it than a system which would give hope and encouragement to those who create the nation's wealth. Our opponents have made a special appeal to those who hold fire and life insurance policies, but these policy holders know that, since the total premiums received exceed the total losses paid, a rising standard must be of more benefit to the companies than to the policy holders. It is oddly necessary to note the increasing number of failures in order to know that a gold standard is ruinous to merchants and manufacturers. These business men do not make their profits from the people from whom they borrow money, but from the people to whom they sell their goods. If the people cannot buy, retailers cannot sell, wholesale merchants and manufacturers must go into bankruptcy.

Those who hold, as a permanent investment, the stock of railroads and other enterprises—I do not include those who speculate

in stocks or use stock holdings as a means of obtaining an inside advantage in construction contracts—are injured by a gold standard. The rising dollar destroys the earning power of these enterprises without reducing their liabilities, and, as dividends cannot be paid until salaries and fixed charges have been satisfied, the stockholders must bear the burden of hard times. Salaries in business occupations depend upon business conditions, and the gold standard both lessens the amount and threatens the permanency of such salaries. Official salaries, except the salaries of those who hold office for life, must, in the long run, be adjusted to the conditions of those who pay the taxes, and if the present financial policy continues we must expect the contest between the taxpayer and the taxeater to increase in bitterness. The professional classes—in the main—derive their support from the producing classes, and can only enjoy prosperity when there is prosperity among those who create wealth. I have not attempted to describe the effect of the gold standard upon all classes—in fact, I only mention a few—but each person will be able to apply the principles stated to his own occupation.

PERSONS PECUNIARILY BENEFITTED BY A GOLD STANDARD

Let me say a word, now, in regard to certain persons who are pecuniarily benefited by a gold standard, and who favor it, not from a desire to trespass upon the rights of others, but because the circumstances which surround them blind them to the effect of the gold standard upon others. I shall ask you to consider the language of two gentlemen whose long public service and high standing in the party to which they belong will protect them from adverse criticism by our opponents. In 1869, Senator Sherman said : "The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing operation than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that operation before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy and disaster. It means ruin to all whose debts are twice

their business capital though one-third less than their actual property. It means the fall of all agricultural production without any great reduction of taxes. What prudent man would dare to build a house,—a railroad, a factory or a barn with this certain fact before him?" As I have said before, the salaried officer referred to must be the man whose salary is fixed for life, and not the man whose salary depends upon business conditions. When Mr. Sherman describes contraction of the currency as disastrous to all the people except the capitalists out of debt and those who stand in a position similar to his, he is stating a truth which must be apparent to every person who will give the matter careful consideration. Mr. Sherman was at that time speaking of the contraction of the volume of paper currency, but the principle he set forth applies, if there is a contraction of the volume of the standard money of the world.

MR. BLAINE'S DISCUSSION OF THE SAME PRINCIPLE

Mr. Blaine discussed the same principle in connection with the demonetization of silver. Speaking in the House of Representatives on the 7th of February, 1878, he said: "I believe the struggle now going on in this country and other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in and throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money, and the establishing of gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property, except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property." Is it strange that the "holders of investments which yield a fixed return in money" can regard the destruction of silver with complacency? May we not expect the holders of other forms of property to protest against giving to a money a "disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property"? The people who must purchase money with the products of toil stand in a position entirely different from the position of those who own money or receive a fixed income. The well-being of the nation—aye, of

civilization itself—depends upon the prosperity of the masses. What shall it profit us to have a dollar which grows more valuable every day if such a dollar lowers the standard of civilization and brings distress to the people? What shall it profit us if, in trying to raise our credit by increasing the purchasing power of our dollar, we destroy our ability to pay the debts already contracted by lowering the purchasing power of the products with which those debts must be paid?

RESTORATION OF BIMETALLISM WILL RESTORE THE PARITY

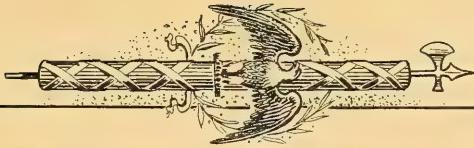
If it is asserted, as it constantly is asserted, that the gold standard will enable us to borrow more money from abroad, I reply that the restoration of bimetallism will restore the parity between money and property, and thus permit an era of prosperity which will enable the American people to become loaners of money instead of perpetual borrowers. Even if we desire to borrow, how long can we continue borrowing under a system which, by lowering the value of property, weakens the foundation upon which credit rests? We are not asking that a new experiment be tried, we are insisting upon a return to a financial policy approved by the experience of history and supported by all the prominent statesmen of our nation from the days of the first President down to 1873. When we ask that our mints be opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver into full legal-tender money, we are simply asking that the same mint privileges be accorded to silver that are now accorded to gold. When we ask that this coinage be at the ratio of 16 to 1 we simply ask that our gold coins and the standard silver dollar—which, be it remembered, contains the same amount of pure silver as the first silver dollar coined at our mints—retain their present weight and fineness.

The theoretical advantage of the bimetallic system is best stated by a European writer on political economy, who suggests the following illustration: A river fed from two sources is more uniform in volume than a river fed from one source—the reason being that when one of the feeders is swollen the other may be

low: Whereas, a river which has but one feeder must rise or fall with that feeder. So in the case of bimetallism; the volume of metallic money receives contributions from both the gold mines and the silver mines, and therefore, varies less, and the dollar resting upon two metals, is less changeable in its purchasing power than the dollar which rests upon one metal only.

GOLD AND SILVER ARE LINKED TOGETHER

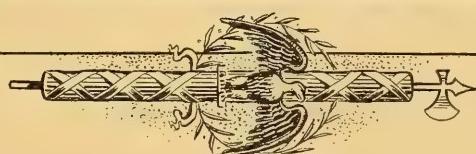
If there are two kinds of money the option must rest either with the debtor or with the creditor. Assuming that their rights are equal, we must look at the interests of society in general in order to determine to which side the option should be given. Under the bimetallic system gold and silver are linked together by law at a fixed ratio, and any person or persons owning any quantity of either metal can have the same converted into full legal-tender money. If the creditor has the right to choose the metal in which payment shall be made, it is reasonable to suppose that he will require the debtor to pay in the dearer metal if there is any perceptible difference between the bullion values of the metals. *This new demand created for the dearer metal will make that metal dearer still, while the decreased demand for the cheaper metal will make that metal cheaper still.* If, on the other hand, the debtor exercises the option, it is reasonable to suppose that he will pay in the cheaper metal if one metal is perceptibly cheaper than the other; *but the demand thus created for the cheaper metal will raise its price, while the lessened demand for the dearer metal will lower its price.* In other words, when the creditor has the option, the metals are drawn apart; whereas, when the debtor has the option, the metals are held together approximately at the ratio fixed by law; provided the demand created is sufficient to absorb all of both metals presented at the mint. Society is, therefore, interested in having the option exercised by the debtor. Indeed, there can be no such thing as real bimetallism unless the option is exercised by the debtor. The exercise of the option by the debtor compels the creditor classes, whether domestic or foreign, to exert themselves to

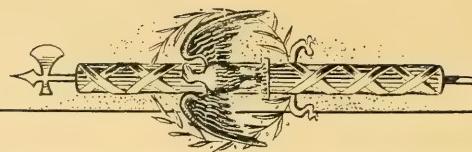


BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN.
SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.



JOSEPH W. BAILEY.
REPRESENTATIVE FROM TEXAS.



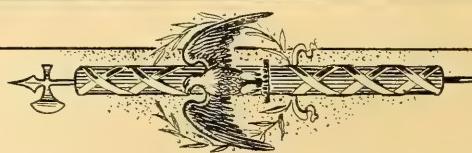


ARTHUR P. GORMAN.
DEMOCRATIC LEADER OF MARYLAND.

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BURKE COCHRAN.
DEMOCRATIC ORATOR AND STATESMAN FROM N. Y.



maintain the parity between gold and silver at the legal ratio, whereas they might find a profit in driving one of the metals to a premium if they could then demand the dearer metal. The right of the debtor to choose the coin in which payment shall be made extends to obligations due from the government as well as to contracts between individuals. When, prior to 1873, silver was at a premium, it was never contended that national honor required the payment of government obligations in silver, and the Matthews resolution, adopted by Congress in 1878, expressly asserted the right of the United States to redeem coin obligations in standard silver dollars as well as in gold coin.

We are told that any attempt upon the part of the government at this time to redeem its obligations in silver would put a premium upon gold, but why should it? The Bank of France exercises the right to redeem all bank paper in either gold or silver, and yet France maintains the parity between gold and silver at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and retains in circulation more silver per capita than we do in the United States.

FREE AND UNLIMITED COINAGE BY THE UNITED STATES

We contend that free and unlimited coinage by the United States alone will raise the bullion value of silver to its coinage value, and thus make silver bullion worth \$1.29 per ounce in gold throughout the world. This proposition is in keeping with natural laws, not in defiance of them. The best-known law of commerce is the law of supply and demand. We recognize this law and build our argument upon it. We apply this law to money when we say that a reduction in the volume of money will raise the purchasing power of the dollar; we also apply the law of supply and demand to silver when we say that a new demand for silver created by law will raise the price of silver bullion.

In 1878 Mr. Carlisle said: "Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production in gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population and industry." I repeat this assertion. All of the gold and silver annually available for coinage,

when converted into coin at the present ratio, will not, in my judgment, more than supply our monetary needs.

In conclusion, permit me to say a word in regard to international bimetallism. We are not opposed to an international agreement looking to the restoration of bimetallism throughout the world. The advocates of free coinage have on all occasions shown their willingness to co-operate with other nations in the reinstatement of silver, but they are not willing to await the pleasure of other governments when immediate relief is needed by the people of the United States, and they further believe that independent action offers better assurance of international bimetallism than servile dependence upon foreign aid. For more than twenty years we have invited the assistance of European nations, but all progress in the direction of international bimetallism has been blocked by the opposition of those who derive a pecuniary benefit from the appreciation of gold. If the double standard will bring benefits to our people, who will deny them the rights to enjoy those benefits?

CHAPTER VII.

Trusts

Government Interference—Corporations and Public
Franchises.

Discussed by HON. BURKE COCHRAN

THE precise question which we have been called to consider is the effects produced by combinations, whether of capital or of labor, upon the general prosperity of the community. The first step towards a solution of this problem is to ascertain just what we mean by prosperity. One of the great difficulties in the way of philosophical inquiry into economic subjects is a very general tendency to use vague, sonorous and misleading phrases, which instead of making a difficult problem clearer serves to bedcloud it, obscuring its outlines, and magnifying its dimensions. In the controversies which have arisen over this industrial question, certain expressions have become perverted from their original significance and have acquired a strange power of provoking men to excitement, if not belligerency, so that oftentimes we find ourselves embarrassed in discussing facts which concern us by words which excite us. The word "trust," for instance, a word originally of highly respectable significance, has become discredited—apparently by association with millionaires—so that its application to a business enterprise is now the signal for discarding the sober language of argument and for invoking the violent epithets of denunciation.

PROSPERITY DEFINED

For the purpose of establishing an intelligent basis of discussion, free from terms likely to provoke passionate declamation, I shall define prosperity as an abundance of commodities fairly distributed among those who produce them. Now, this is not to state

two separate and distinct conditions, but rather two aspects of one condition. For, I hope to establish before I conclude that there cannot be abundant production of commodities without an extensive distribution of them in the form of wages wherever industry is based upon freedom. Whether that distribution be as general as we might wish, is a question which we will consider hereafter; meanwhile we can all agree that distribution can be extensive only where production is abundant. We must have commodities in existence before we can distribute them in the form of wages or of profits. If this definition of prosperity be correct, it must follow that any industrial organization or system which operates to swell the volume of production should be commended, and any that operates to restrict it should be condemned. For my part, I could never understand why a sensible man should grow excited either to approval or resentment over a combination as such. A combination may be good or bad, according to its effect. A combination for prayer is a church. All good men would subscribe to the success of it. A combination for burglary is a conspiracy. All good men call out the police to prevent it.

DIVERSITY OF OPINION

Whether combinations of capital operate to raise prices or to reduce them is a subject about which there has been a wide diversity of opinion, not merely in this hall, but wherever economic questions are discussed. While I am fully conscious that the movement of prices depend upon many forces, or perhaps I should rather say, upon every force—upon the fertility of the soil, upon the sun that quickens the seed, upon the rains that refresh it, upon the rivers which facilitate the transportation of the crop harvested on the surface of the earth, and of the minerals yielded from its bosom—upon every element of nature as well as upon the industry of man. I think it is beyond question that some combinations of capital operate to cheapen commodities and some operate to make them dearer.

I believe there is a very simple test by which we can always determine the effect on prices of any successful industrial organization, and that is to ascertain whether it flourishes through government aid or without it. You must see, that an industrial enterprise which dominates the market without aid from government, must do so by cheapening its product, or, as it is commonly described, by underselling competitors. An industry which at one and the same time reduces the price of its product and swells its own profits can accomplish that result in one way, and one way only, and that is by increasing the volume of its production. On the other hand, an industry which flourishes through the aid of government, direct or indirect, cannot, in the nature of things, be a force to lower prices, because if it could dominate the market by underselling competitors in a free and open field it would not need government favor. In that case, any interference of government with its business would be an injury, not a benefit. The prosperity of an enterprise enjoying government favor, depends not on the excellence of its service, but on the inability of people to purchase elsewhere. Such a corporation, or combination, never operates to stimulate the volume of production, but always to restrict it, because a government's aid to industry is effective only when it is exercised to extort from the public a volume of profit which without it could be gained only by a larger output. Whatever may be our opinions of industrial enterprises, dominating the market by cheapening products, I believe we are unanimous in condemning as detrimental to prosperity every concern whose revenues derived from consumers forced to deal with it on its own terms are not profits earned by substantial service, but tribute exacted from a community made helpless in its hands.

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE WITH TRADE

There are three ways by which, in this country, government interferes with the trade of individuals. One is by patent laws. It is not my purpose to intensify differences of opinion among us, but to emphasize the points on which we can agree, and, if possible, to

extend the field of our agreement. Questions which cannot possibly be settled or even affected by anything which this conference might do or advise, it would be utterly useless to discuss. I will not waste time, therefore, in considering the effect of exclusive patents on industrial conditions.

Another method of government interference with trade is by tariff laws. Every person must concede, whether he believes in high tariff or free trade, that a protective tariff fosters combinations to control the market in one way. It restricts competition in any commodity to those producing it in this country. Under a condition of free trade every article seeking a market, wherever produced, is exposed to the competition of the whole world. Obviously the control of a market by a combination or trust is facilitated where the field of competition is artificially limited, since it is easier to combine the producers of one country than those of all countries; to that extent the tariff encourages trusts.

It is proper to say, however, that according to the protectionist the exclusion of foreign competition develops a domestic competition much keener and in some mysterious way, more beneficent. I do not understand his logic, but I think that is a fair statement of his proposition. The tariff has been discussed in this country for some eight or ten years, and the question is still unsettled. As it has become a party question we cannot hope to settle it here, and therefore we will relegate it to the forum in which all political issues must be decided.

GREAT CORPORATIONS EXERCISING PUBLIC FRANCHISES

There is a third and very serious form of government interference with trade which I think we can discuss profitably and which in my judgment has had a wider influence in promoting industrial combinations than the tariff, I refer to special favors extended to certain industries by great corporations exercising public franchises. I call this form of discrimination government favor, because these corporations are essentially agencies of the government although their stocks are owned by private individuals.

No person can enjoy a favor at the hands of any company exercising a public franchise except at the expense of another. This is true in every instance where government extends special favor to an individual. I have said in many places, and I say it here, that government cannot at one and the same time be a fountain of generosity and of justice. Government cannot of itself create anything. It cannot by any exercise of its own powers, compel the boards that constitute this desk to become a useful article of furniture; it cannot summon the elements of this building from their original places and command them to become a durable edifice; it cannot cause two blades of grass to grow where one grew before; it cannot make a barren field fruitful. Now, if government cannot create anything it has nothing of its own to bestow on anybody. If then it undertakes to enrich one individual, the thing which it gives him it must take from another. A government cannot be just and generous at the same time, for if it be generous to one it must be oppressive to another. If it have a favorite it must have a victim, and that government only is just and beneficent which has neither favorites nor victims. Government is always just and always beneficent when it is absolutely impartial. Not merely must its own hands be impartial, but, to paraphrase Lord Bacon, the hands of its hands must be impartial; not merely must its laws be impartial, its courts impartial, its executive officers impartial, but the agencies which it empowers to discharge functions essentially public, must be impartial in their service to every human being within the limits of the state.

DISCRIMINATION IS DESTRUCTIVE OF FREE COMPETITION

It must be clear that if one person obtain rates of transportation unusually favorable, in other words, if his goods be transported for less than the service costs, other men, using the same means of transportation must make good the loss. Discrimination of this character is destructive of free competition. The producer who gets the benefit of it is able to undersell his competitor, not by the superiority of his product, but by the favor of the government

agency. Profit is the object of all industrial effort. If the favor of a corporation be a shorter pathway to it than efficient service to the public, the ingenuity, enterprise and talent of men will be diverted from the wholesome competitions of industrial skill to debasing and corrupting intrigues for corporate favor. Is there any remedy for this form of oppression? Some gentlemen have suggested municipal ownership as a cure for corporate misconduct, I have no irreconcilable quarrel with that suggestion. I concede the principle of municipal ownership.

Any public service which the government can authorize a corporation to perform, it can perform itself. The only excuse for empowering a private corporation to discharge a public function is the belief that it will perform the service more efficiently. The question of municipal ownership then is a mere question of expediency.

GRAVE OBSTACLES TO BE OVERCOME

Can a government through the machinery of its civil service, administer a railway, a gas company or a telegraph system, as efficiently as private individuals inspired by hope of extensive profits, and with the peculiar capacity developed by years of experience in a particular calling? I won't debate that question here, because if municipal ownership of public franchises be a remedy for existing evils, it is such a remote one that to discuss it would be to discuss the interests of our children rather than of ourselves.

There are many grave obstacles to be overcome before municipal ownership could be reduced to practical operation, even though we should set about establishing it to-day. On what basis of valuation would we compute the interests of the present owners? Should it be fixed on the basis on what these enterprises can earn or on what it would cost to reproduce them? To take them on a valuation fixed according to their present earning power would be a very hazardous speculation. It is exceedingly doubtful if under the administration of public officials they could be managed as economically as they are now under the management of specially trained experts. But if the cost of operation be increased,

the rates charged for service must be raised. If the rate of fare from New York to Chicago were increased or the quality of the service impaired; the result would be none the less a public calamity because it was a feature of municipal ownership.

If it should be decided to limit the compensation of present owners to the cost of reproducing existing railway, telegraph or gas plants, another and more difficult question would arise. Has the state, after allowing and encouraging the original grantees of these franchises to dispose of them to innocent holders on a valuation based on their earning power, any right to take those franchises back upon a different valuation?

POWERS OF MUNICIPALITIES

Moreover, questions involving the powers of municipalities under special constitutional provisions would have to be settled, before one step could be taken in the reduction of this plan to practical operation. On the whole, while the theory of municipal ownership is highly ingenious and highly interesting, yet, like the suggestion of a convention to frame a new constitution for the United States, as a remedy for pressing evils it is somewhat remote.

It seems to me there is a very effective remedy and a very simple one. It would not be necessary to frame a law prohibiting special privileges to individuals from public corporations ; that is the law to-day. The remedy is simply to prescribe a definite penalty for violation of it, and to provide for publicity in all the transactions of a corporation exercising public franchises. No fines, no judicial rebukes, no denunciations from platforms, no legislative enactments merely declaring things to be reprehensible will eradicate the evil, but a simple statute giving every shipper, every person using a public franchise of any kind, the right to have disclosed to him at any time every contract and agreement made with any other person for a similar service and declaring the grant of a special rate by a corporation a felony punishable by a long term of imprisonment, will cure it effectually.

There is no disproportion between the offense of which we complain and the remedy suggested. Discrimination in the rates charged for a service essentially public is a crime of the first magnitude. The corporation, exercising powers conferred by the state for the benefit of all which denies one man opportunities enjoyed by others, robs him, if not of property in his possession, of the opportunity to acquire property.

Publicity of corporate proceedings would accomplish more than the prevention of discrimination in rates. It would go far towards curing the most conspicuous and the most crying evils of corporate management.

Trusts and the Remedies Proposed*

Discussed by

HONORABLE WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

WITHIN two years, more trusts have been organized than in the previous history of the country, and the people now come face to face with this question: Is the trust a blessing or a curse? If a curse what remedy can be applied to the curse?

Monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any standpoint and intolerable. I do not divide monopolies. There can be no good monopoly in private hands until the Almighty sends us angels to preside over us. There may be a despot who is better than another despot, but there is no good despotism.

The defense of the monopoly is always placed on the ground that if you will allow people to control the market and fix the price they will be good to the people who purchase of them. The entire defense of the trusts rests upon a money argument. If the trust will sell an article for a dollar less than the article will cost under other conditions, then, in the opinion of some, that proves a trust to be a good thing.

* Abridged from a recent address.

In the first place I deny that under a monopoly the price will be reduced. In the second place, if under a monopoly the price is reduced, the objections to a monopoly from other standpoints far outweigh the financial advantage that the trust would bring. But I protest against settling every question upon the dollar argument.

In the early years of Lincoln's administration he sent a message to Congress, warning his countrymen against the approach of monarchy. He said he saw in the attempt to put capital even upon an equal footing with labor in the structure of government, the approach of monarchy. Lincoln was right. Whenever you put capital upon an equal footing with labor, or above labor, in the structure of government, you are on the road to aid a government that rests not upon reason, but upon force.

RELATION BETWEEN MONEY AND MAN

Nothing is more important than that we shall, in the beginning, rightly understand the relation between money and man. Man is the creature of God, and money is the servant of man, and I protest against all theories that enthrone money and debase mankind.

If you will go about over the country you will see where people have subscribed money to establish enterprises, and where those enterprises, having come under the control of the trusts have been closed up and stand now as silent monuments to the wisdom of the trust system. In case of local strikes and fires the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss.

When a branch of industry is entirely in the hands of one great monopoly, so that every skilled man in that industry has to go to the one man for employment, then that one man will fix wages as he pleases, and the laboring man will then share the suffering of the man who sells the raw material.

BRAINS WILL BE AT A DISCOUNT

I want to warn you that when the monopoly has absolute control brains will be at a discount. We have not had yet a taste of a complete trust. But when the trust has rid itself of all competitors what is going to be the result?

On the farm we used to protect property from the hogs by putting rings in their noses. Why? So that while they were getting fat they would not destroy more than they were worth. One of the great purposes of government is to put rings in the noses of hogs. If I were going to try to find the root of the monopoly evil I would go back to the Bible for an explanation, and I would find it in the declaration that the love of money is the root of all evil. Falling prices, caused by a rising dollar, and the high tariff, have contributed the desire to secure the fruits of monopoly.

Some have suggested that to put everything on the free list that trusts make, would destroy the trusts. But I do not believe that you could destroy all the trusts by putting all trust-made articles on the free list, because if an article can be produced in this country as cheaply as it can be produced abroad, then the trust could exist without the benefit of any tariff at all, although it cannot extort so much. We cannot destroy monopoly until we lay the axe at the root of the tree, and make monopoly impossible by law. Discrimination by railroads has aided trusts.

THE REMEDIES PROPOSED

That can be remedied by laws which will place producers on an equal footing. But the remedy must be complete enough to prevent the organization of a monopoly. We differ more in remedy than we do in our opinion of the trust. Few people will defend the trust as a principle.

As to the remedy.

Both state and nation should have concurrent remedies. In the first place, every state has, or should have, the right to create any private corporation which in the justice of the people of the state is conducive to a welfare of the people of that state.

I believe that we can safely entrust to the people of a state the settlement of a question which concerns them. If they create a corporation and it becomes destructive of their best interests they can destroy that corporation, and we can safely trust them both to create and to annihilate if conditions make annihilation necessary.

In the first place, a state has, or should have, the right to prohibit any foreign corporation from doing business in the state, and it ought to have, or has, the right to impose such restrictions and limitations as the people of the state may think necessary upon any foreign corporations doing business in the state. I believe, in addition to a state remedy, there must be a Federal remedy. Congress has, or should have, the power to place such restrictions and limitations, even to the point of prohibition, upon any corporation organized in one state, that wants to do business outside of the state contrary to public good.

I believe that these concurrent remedies will reach the difficulty, that the people of every state shall first decide whether they want to create a corporation; that they shall, secondly, decide whether they want any outside corporation to do business in the state, and, if so, upon what conditions; and, thirdly, that Congress shall exercise the right to place upon every corporation doing business outside of the state in which it is organized, such limitations and restrictions as may be necessary for the protection of the public good.

I am ready to adopt any method for the annihilation of trusts. One that I suggest is this:

PROVIDE FOR PUBLICITY OF ALL TRANSACTIONS

That Congress should pass a law, providing that no corporation organized in any state should do business outside of the state in which it is organized until it receives from some power created by Congress a license, authorizing it to do business outside of its own state. Now, if the corporation must come to this body created by Congress to secure permission to do business outside the state, then that license can be granted upon condition which will, in the first place, prevent the watering of stock; in the second place, prevent monopoly in any branch of business; and, third, provide for publicity as to all of their transactions and business of the corporation.

If this is unconstitutional and so declared by the Supreme Court, I am in favor of an amendment to the Constitution that will

give to Congress power to destroy every trust in the country. In my judgment, when you take from monopoly the power to issue watered stock you will go more than half the way toward destroying monopoly in the United States.

You can provide for publicity, and that annually or at such other times the corporations shall make returns of its business, of its earnings, and will go another long step toward the destruction of the principle of monopoly.

But I am not willing to stop there, and therefore, as a third condition, I suggest that no license shall be granted until the corporation shows that it has not had a monopoly and is not attempting a monopoly of any branch of industry or any article of merchandise, and then provide that if the law is violated the license can be revoked. I do not believe in the government giving privileges to be exercised by a corporation without reserving the right to withdraw them when those privileges become hurtful to the people.

PLACING THE DOLLARS ABOVE THE MAN

Much contention has been that we have been placing the dollar above the man ; that we have been picking out favorites in government ; that we have been bestowing upon them special privileges, and that every advantage we have given them has been given them to the detriment of other people. My contention is that there is a vicious principle running through the various policies which we have been pursuing ; that in our taxation we have been imposing upon the great struggling masses, the burdens of government, while we have been voting the privileges to the people who will not pay their share of the expenses of the government.

I have no fear that any man by his own brain or his own muscle will be able to secure a fortune so great as to be a menace to the welfare of his fellow-men. When God made man he placed a limit to his existence, so that if he was a bad man he could not do harm long, but when we made our man-made man (the corporation) we raised the limit of his age. We did not give him a soul, and if

he can avoid punishment in this world he need not worry about the hereafter.

I want to protest against this doctrine that the trust is a natural outgrowth of natural laws. It is not true. The trust is the natural outgrowth of unnatural conditions created by man-made laws. Government under the four great principles of the Declaration of Independence is impossible under an industrial aristocracy.

NO SEPARATION OF CLASSES OF LABORING MEN

Some people have tried to separate the laboring man who works in the factory from the laboring man who works on the farm. I want to warn the laboring man in the factories that they cannot separate themselves from those on the farm without inviting their own destruction. I warn the laboring men in the factories that when they join with monopolies to crush the farmer, as soon as the farmer is crushed the laboring man will be crushed, and his ally will be destroyed, and in a test of endurance the farmer will stand it longer than the laboring man.

But, why should we try to see who could hold out the longest in suffering? Why try to see who can endure the most hardships and yet live? Why not try to see who can contribute most to the greatness and to the glory and to the prosperity of this nation? Why, these who can contribute most should make this government what the fathers intended it for. For 100 years this nation has been the light of the world. For 100 years the best of all nations have looked to this nation for hope and instruction. Let us settle these great questions that we have; let us teach the world the blessing of a government that comes from the people, and let us show them how happy and how prosperous people can be. I believe the doctrine that God made all men out of the same dust and did not make some to crawl on hands and knees and others to ride upon their backs. Let us show what can be done when we put into actual practice those great doctrines of human equality and of equal rights, and make this government what the fathers intended, so that we shall lead the world, step by step, into higher ground.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Greater Republic—or Imperialism*

Our Duties to the Islands in the East—England an Example of
Colonial Progress—An Eloquent Plea for the
Flag and its Mission

Discussed by

HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, Senator from Indiana

THE Republic never retreats. Why should it retreat? The Republic is the highest form of civilization, and civilization must advance. The Republic's young men are the most virile and unwasted of the world, and they pant for enterprise worthy of their power. The Republic's preparation has been the self-discipline of a century, and that preparedness has found its task. The Republic's opportunity is as noble as its strength, and that opportunity is here. The Republic's duty is as sacred as its opportunity is real, and Americans never desert their duty.

The Republic could not retreat if it would; whatever its destiny it must proceed. For the American Republic is a part of the movement of a race—the most masterful race of history—and race movements are not to be stayed by the hand of man. They are mighty answers to Divine commands. Their leaders are not only statesmen of peoples—they are prophets of God. The inherent tendencies of a race are its highest law. They precede and survive all statutes, all constitutions. The first question real statesmanship asks is: What are the abiding characteristics of my people? From that basis all reasoning may be natural and true. From any other basis all reasoning must be artificial and false.

The sovereign tendencies of our race are organization and government. We govern so well that we govern ourselves. We

* Abridged from a recent address.

organize by instinct. Under the flag of England our race builds an empire out of the ends of earth. In Australia it is to-day erecting a nation out of fragments. In America it wove out of segregated settlements, that complex and wonderful organization, called the American Republic. Everywhere it builds. Everywhere it governs. Everywhere it administers order and law. Everywhere it is the spirit of regulated liberty. Everywhere it obeys that voice not to be denied which bids us strive and rest not, makes of us our brother's keeper and appoints us steward under God of the civilization of the world.

LINCOLN AS A PROPHET

Organization means growth. Government means administration. When Washington pleaded with the states to organize into a consolidated people, he was the advocate of perpetual growth. When Abraham Lincoln argued for the indivisibility of the Republic he became the prophet of the Greater Republic. And when they did both, they were but the interpreters of the tendencies of the race. That is what made then Washington and Lincoln. Had they been separatists and contractionists they would not have been Washington and Lincoln—they would have been Davis and Calhoun. They are the great Americans because they were the supreme constructors and conservers of organized government among the American people, and to-day William McKinley, as divinely guided as they, is carrying to its conclusion the tremendous syllogism of which the works of Washington and Lincoln are the premises.

God did not make the American people the mightiest human force of all time simply to feed and die. He did not give our race the brain of organization and heart of domain to no purpose and no end. No; he has given us a task equal to our talents. He has appointed for us a destiny equal to our endowments. He has made us the lords of civilization that we may administer civilization. Such administration is needed in Cuba. Such administration is needed in the Philippines. And Cuba and the Philippines are in our hands.

If it be said that, at home, tasks as large as our strength await us—that politics are to be purified, want relieved, municipal government perfected, the relations of capital and labor better adjusted, I answer: Has England's discharge of her duty to the world corrupted her politics? Are not her cities, like Birmingham, the municipal models upon which we build our reforms? Is her labor problem more perplexed than ours? Considering the newness of our country, is it as bad as ours? And is not the like true of Holland—even of Germany?

And what of England? England's immortal glory is not Agincourt or Waterloo. It is not her merchandise or commerce. It is Australia, New Zealand and Africa reclaimed. It is India redeemed. It is Egypt, mummy of the nations, touched into modern life. England's imperishable renown is in English science throttling the plague in Calcutta. English law administering order in Bombay. English energy planting an industrial civilization from Cairo to the Cape, and English discipline creating soldiers, men and finally citizens, perhaps, even out of the fellahs of the dead land of the Pharaohs. And yet the liberties of Englishmen were never so secure as now. And that which is England's undying fame has also been her infinite profit, so sure is duty golden in the end.

And what of America? With the twentieth century the real task and true life of the Republic begins. And we are prepared. We have learned restraint from a hundred years of self-control. We are instructed by the experience of others. We are advised and inspired by present example. And our work awaits us.

DOMINANT NOTES

The dominant notes in American history have thus far been self-government and internal improvement. But these were not ends only, they were means also. They were modes of preparation. The dominant notes in American life henceforth will be not only self-government and internal development, but also administration and world improvement. It is the arduous but splendid mission of our race. It is ours to govern in the name of civilized liberty. It

is ours to administer order and law in the name of human progress. It is ours to chasten that we may be kind, it is ours to cleanse that we may save, it is ours to build that free institutions may finally enter and abide. It is ours to bear the torch of Christianity where midnight has reigned a thousand years. It is ours to reinforce that thin red line which constitutes the outposts of civilization all around the world.

If it be said that this is vague talk of an indefinite future, we answer that it is the specific programme of the present hour. Civil government is to be perfected in Porto Rico. The future of Cuba is to be worked out by the wisdom of events. Ultimately, annexation is as certain as the island's existence. Even if Cubans are capable of self-government every interest points to union. We and they may blunder forward and timidly try the devices of doubt. But in the end Jefferson's desire will be fulfilled and Cuba will be a part of the great Republic. And, whatever befall, definite and immediate work awaits us. Harbors are to be dredged, sanitation established, highways built, railroads constructed, postal service organized, common schools opened, all by or under the Government of the American Republic.

THE PHILIPPINES ARE OURS FOREVER

The Philippines are ours forever. Let faint hearts anoint their fears with the thought that some day American administration and American duty there may end. But they never will end. England's occupation of Egypt was to be temporary; but events, which are the commands of God, are making it permanent. And now God has given us this Pacific empire for civilized administration. The first office of administration is order. Order must be established throughout the archipelago. The spoiled child, Aguinaldo, may not stay the march of civilization. Rebellion against the authority of the flag must be crushed without delay, for hesitation encourages revolt, and without anger, for the turbulent children know not what they do. And then civilization must be organized, administered and maintained. Law and justice must rule where savagery, tyranny

and caprice have rioted. The people must be taught the art of orderly and continuous industry. A hundred wildernesses are to be subdued. Unpenetrated regions must be explored. Unviolated valleys must be tilled. Unmastered forests must be felled. Unriven mountains must be torn asunder and their riches of iron and gold and ores of price must be delivered to the world. We are to do in the Philippines what Holland does in Java, or England in New Zealand or the Cape, or else work out new methods and new results of our own nobler than any the world has seen. All this is not indefinite; it is the very specification of duty.

The frail of faith declares that these peoples are not fitted for citizenship. It is not proposed to make them citizens. Those who see disaster in every forward step of the Republic prophesy that Philippine labor will overrun our country and starve our working men. But the Javanese have not so overrun Holland. New-Zealand's Malays, Australia's bushmen, Africa's Kaffirs, Zulus and Hottentots and India's millions of surplus labor have not so overrun England. Whips of scorpions could not lash the Filipinos to this land of feverid enterprise, sleepless industry and rigid order.

DUTY NOT MEASURED BY DOLLARS

Those who measure duty by dollars cry out at the expense. When did Americans ever count the cost of righteousness? And, besides, this Republic must have a mighty navy in any event. And new markets secured, new enterprises opened, new resources in timber, mines and products of the tropics acquired and the vitalization of all our industries which will follow will pay back a thousand fold all the government spends in discharging the highest duty to which the Republic can be called.

Those who mutter words and call it wisdom, deny the constitutional power of the Republic to govern Porto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, for if we have the power in Porto Rico we have the power in the Philippines. The Constitution is not interpreted by degrees of latitude or longitude. It is a hoary objection. There have always been those who have proclaimed the unconstitutionality

of progress. The first to deny the power of the Republic's government were those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution itself, and they and their successors have denied its vitality and intelligence to this day. They denied the Republic's government the power to create a national bank; to make internal improvements; to issue greenbacks; to make gold the standard of value; to preserve property and life in states where treasonable Governors refused to call for aid.

WHAT DOES THE CONSTITUTION MEAN

Let them read Hamilton and understand the meaning of implied powers. Let them read Marshall and learn that the Constitution is a people's ordinance of national life, capable of growth as great as the people's growth. Let them learn the golden rule of constitutional interpretation; the Constitution was made for the American people; not the American people for the Constitution. Let them study the history, purposes and instincts of our race and then read again the Constitution, which is but an expression of the development of that race. Power to govern territory acquired. What else does the Constitution mean when it says: "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States?" But aside from these express words of the American Constitution, the Republic has power to govern in the Pacific, the Caribbean, or in any other portion of the globe where Providence commands. Aside from the example of Alaska, all our territories and the experience of a century, the Republic has the power to administer civilization wherever interest and duty call. It is the power which inheres in and is a part of the Government itself. And the Constitution does not deny the Government, this inherent power residing in the very nature of all government. Who, then, can deny it? Those who do, write a new constitution of their own, and interpret that. Those who do, dispute history. Those who do, are alien to the instincts of our race.

All protests against the greater Republic are tolerable except this constitutional objection. But they who resist the Republic's career in the name of the Constitution are not to be endured. They are jugglers of words. Their counsel is the wisdom of verbiage. They deal not with realities, neither give heed to vital things. The most magnificent fact in history is the mighty movement and mission of our race, and the most splendid phase of that world-redeeming movement is the entrance of the American people as the greatest force in all the earth to do their part in administering civilization among mankind, and they are not to be halted by a ruck of words called constitutional arguments. Pretenders to legal learning have always denounced all virile interpretations of the Constitution. The so-called constitutional lawyers in Marshall's day said that he did not understand the Constitution, because he looked not at its syllables, but surveyed the whole instrument and beheld in its profound meaning and infinite scope the sublime human processes of which it is an expression. The Constitution is not a prohibition of our progress. It is not an interdict to our destiny. It is not a treatise on geography. Let the flag advance; the word 'retreat' is not in the Constitution. Let the Republic govern as conditions demand; the Constitution does not benumb its brain nor palsy its hand.

OUR DUTIES TO ASSIST THEM

The Declaration of Independence applies only to peoples capable of self-government. Otherwise, how dared we administer the affairs of the Indians? How dare we continue to govern them to-day? Precedent does not impair natural and unalienable rights. And how is the world to be prepared for self-government? Savagery cannot prepare itself. Barbarism must be assisted toward the light. Assuming that these people can be made capable of self-government, shall we have no part in this sacred and glorious cause?

And if self-government is not possible for them, shall we leave them to themselves? Shall tribal wars scourge them, disease waste

them, savagery brutalize them more and more? Shall their fields lie fallow, their forests rot, their mines remain sealed, and all the purposes and possibilities of nature be nullified? If not, who shall govern them rather than the kindest and most merciful of the world's great race of administrators, the people of the American Republic? Who lifted from us the judgment which makes men of our blood our brothers' keepers?

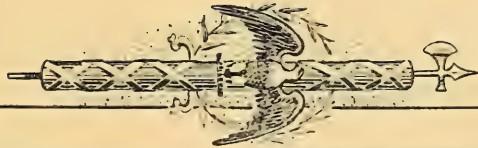
LIBERTY NOT DENIED

We do not deny them liberty. The administration of orderly government is not denial of liberty. The administration of equal justice is not the denial of liberty. Teaching the habits of industry is not denial of liberty. Development of the wealth of the land is not denial of liberty. If they are, then, civilization itself is the denial of liberty. Denial of liberty to whom? There are twelve millions of people in the Philippines divided into thirty tribes. Aguinaldo is of the Tagal tribe of two million souls, and he has an intermittent authority over less than 50,000 of these. To deliver these continental islands to him and his crew would be to establish an autocracy of barbarism. It would be to license spoliation. It would be to plant the republic of piracy, for such a government could not prevent that crime in piracy's natural home. It would be to make war certain among the powers of earth, who would dispute, with arms, each other's possession of a Pacific empire from which that ocean can be ruled. The blood already shed is but a drop to that which would flow if America would desert its post in the Pacific. And the blood already spilled was poured out upon the altar of the world's regeneration. Manila is as noble as Omdurman, and both are holier than Jericho. Retreat from the Philippines on any pretext would be the master cowardice of history. It would be the betrayal of a trust as sacred as humanity. It would be a crime against Christian civilization, and would mark the beginning of the decadence of our race. And so, thank God, the Republic never retreats.

The fervent moral resolve throughout the Republic is not "a fever of expansion." It is a tremendous awakening of the people like that of Elizabethan England. It is no fever, but the hot blood of the most magnificent young manhood of all time; a manhood begotten while yet the splendid moral passion of the war for national life filled the thought of all the land with ideals worth dying for, and charged its very atmosphere with noble purposes and a courage which dared put destiny to the touch—a manhood which contains a million Roosevelts, Woods, Hobsons and Duboces, who grieve that they, too, may not so conspicuously serve their country, civilization and mankind. Indeed, these heroes are great because they are typical. American manhood to-day contains the master administrators of the world and they go forth for the healing of the nations. They go forth in the cause of civilization. They go forth for the betterment of man; they go forth, and the word on their lips is, Christ and His peace—not conquest and its pillage. They go forth to prepare the peoples, through decades, and maybe, centuries of patient effort, for the great gift of American institutions. They go forth, not for imperialism, but for the Greater Republic.

IMPERIALISM NOT THE WORD

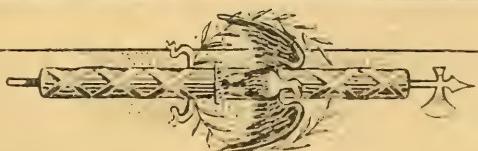
Imperialism is not the word for our vast work, imperialism as used by the opposers of the national greatness, means oppression, and we oppress not. Imperialism, as used by the opposers of national destiny, means monarchy, and the days of monarchy are spent. Imperialism, as used by the opposers of national progress, is a word to frighten the faint of heart, and so is powerless with the fearless American people. Who honestly believes that the liberties of the 80,000,000 Americans will be destroyed because the Republic administers civilization in the Philippines? Who honestly believes that free institutions are stricken unto death because the Republic, under God, takes its place as the first power of the world? Who honestly believes that we plunge to our doom, when we march forward in a path of duty, prepared by a higher wisdom than our own? Those who so believe have lost their faith in the immortality



ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.
SENATOR FROM INDIANA.



CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.
SENATOR FROM INDIANA.



MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.



of liberty. Those who so believe have lost the reckoning of events and think it sunset when it is, in truth, only the breaking of another day—the day of the Greater Republic, dawning as dawns the twentieth century.

The Republic never retreats. Its flag is the only flag that has never known defeat. Where the flag leads we follow, for we know that the hand that bears it onward is the unseen hand of God. We follow the flag and independence is ours. We follow the flag and nationality is ours. We follow the flag and oceans are ruled. We follow the flag and, in the Occident and Orient, tyranny falls and barbarism is subdued. We follow the flag at Trenton and Valley Forge, at Saratoga and upon the crimson seas, at Buena Vista and Chapultepec, at Gettysburg and Missionary Ridge, at Santiago and Manila, and everywhere and always it means larger liberty, nobler opportunity and greater human happiness, for everywhere and always it means the blessings of the Greater Republic. And so God leads, we follow the flag, and the republic never retreats.

CHAPTER IX.

Anti-Imperialism

The Policy Toward the Philippines Should be Dictated by the
Spirit of Justice—The Declaration of Independence
Applied—The Constitution Properly Inter-
preted—Another Policy Proposed

An Able Argument by
HONORABLE GEORGE F. HOAR
Senator from Massachusetts

UNTIL within two years the American people have been wont to appeal to the Declaration of Independence as the foremost state paper in history. As the years go round the Fourth of July has been celebrated wherever Americans could gather together, at home or abroad. To have signed it, to an American, was better than a title of nobility. It was no passionate utterance of a hasty enthusiasm. There was nothing of the radical in it; nothing of Rousseau; nothing of the French Revolution. It was the sober utterance of the soberest men of the soberest generation that ever lived. It was the declaration of a religious people at the most religious period of their history. It was a declaration not merely of rights but of duties. It was an act not of revolution but of construction. It was the corner stone, the foundation stone of a great national edifice wherein the American people were to dwell forevermore. The language was the language of Thomas Jefferson. But the thought was the thought of every one of his associates. The men of the Continental Congress meant to plant their new nation on eternal verities which no man possessed by the spirit of liberty could ever thereafter undertake to challenge. As the Christian religion was rested by its author on two sublime commandments on which hang all the laws and the prophets, so these men rested

republican liberty on two sublime verities on which it must stand, if it can stand at all; in which it must live or bear no life. One was the equality of the individual man with every other in political right. The other is that you are now seeking to overthrow—the right of every people to institute their own government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness, and so to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them. Equality of individual manhood and equality of individual states. This is the doctrine which the Republican party is now urged to deny.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S POLICY.

To justify that denial the advocates of the policy of imperialism are driven to the strange affirmation that Thomas Jefferson did not believe it and contradicted it when he purchased Louisiana; that John Quincy Adams did not believe it and contradicted it when he bought Florida; that Abraham Lincoln did not believe it and contradicted it when he put down the rebellion; that Charles Sumner did not believe it and contradicted it when he bought Alaska. They say that because, with the full and practical consent of the men who occupied them, these men bought great spaces of territory occupied by sparse and scattered populations, neither owning it or pretending to own it, not capable of occupying it or governing it, destitute of every single attribute which makes or can make a nation or a people, those statesmen of ours, designing to make the territory acquired into equal states, to be dwelt in and governed under our Constitution by men with rights equal to our own—that therefore you may get by purchase or by conquest an unwilling people, occupying and governing a thickly settled territory, possessing every attribute of a national life, enjoying a freedom they have themselves achieved; that you may crush out their national life; that you may overthrow their institutions; that you may strangle their freedom; that you may put over them governors whom you

appoint and in whose appointment they have no voice; that you may make laws for them in your interest and not in theirs; that you may overthrow their republican liberty, and in doing this you appeal to the example of Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams and Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner.

Thomas Jefferson comes down in history with the Declaration of Independence in one hand and the title deed of Louisiana in the other. Do you think his left hand knew not what his right hand did? Do you think these two immortal transactions contradicted each other? Do you think he bought men like sheep and paid for them in gold? It is true the men of the Declaration held slaves. Jefferson felt the inconsistency, and declared that he trembled for his country when he felt that God was just. But he lived and died in the expectation that the Declaration would abolish slavery, *as it did.*

DOCTRINE OF THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED

In every accession of territory to this country ever made we recognized fully the doctrine of the consent of the governed and the doctrine that territory so acquired must be held to be made into states. The men who say that Jefferson violated the doctrine of the Declaration when he bought Louisiana, and John Quincy Adams when he acquired Florida, and Sumner when he made his great speech for Alaska, might, with as much reason, justify a rape by citing the precedent of every lawful marriage that has taken place since the beginning of time.

The confusion of the argument of our friends on the other side comes from confounding the statement in the Declaration of the rights of individuals with the statement of the rights of nations, or peoples, in dealing with one another.

The whole Declaration is a statement of political rights and political relations and political duties.

First. Every man is equal in political rights, including the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to every other.

Second. No people can come under the government of any other people, or of any ruler, without its consent. The law of

nature and of nature's God entitle every people to its separate and equal station among the powers of the earth. Our fathers were not dealing in this clause with the doctrine of the social compact ; they were not considering the rights of minorities ; they used the word "people" as equivalent to "nation," or "state," as an organized political being, and not as a mere aggregate of persons not collected or associated. They were not thinking of Robinson Crusoe in his desolate island, or of scattered settlers, still less of predatory bands roaming over vast regions they could neither own nor occupy. They were affirming the right of each of the thirteen colonies separately or of all together to throw off the yoke of George III and to separate itself or themselves from Great Britain. Now, you must either admit that what they said was true, or you must affirm the contrary.

GOD GIVEN RIGHTS

The question is put, with an air of triumph, as if it were somehow hard to answer. If this doctrine apply to 1,000,000 men why does it not apply to 100 men? At what point in the census do men get these God-given rights of yours? Well, the answer is easy enough. Our fathers, in the affirmation of the Declaration of Independence you are now denying, were speaking of the equal rights of nations, of their duties to each other. The exact point where a few scattered settlements become a people, or a few nomadic tribes a nation, may not admit of precise mathematical definition. At what point does a brook become a river? When does a pond become a lake, or a lake a sea, or a breeze a hurricane? You can not tell me. But surely there are nations and peoples, there is organized national life; and there are scattered habitations and wandering tribes to whom these titles are never applied. Louisiana, Florida, Alaska, New Mexico, California, neither had, nor did their inhabitants claim to have, such a national vitality when we acquired them. And if there were anything of that sort when we annexed them, it desired to come to us. And it

came to us to become part of us—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, life of our life, soul of our soul.

But I can give you two pretty safe practical rules, quite enough for this day's purpose. Each of them will solve your difficulty, if you have a difficulty, and want to solve it. That is a people, that is a power of the earth, that is a nation entitled as such to its separate and equal station among the powers of the earth by the laws of nature and of nature's God, that has a written constitution, a settled territory, an independence it has achieved, an organized army, a congress, courts, schools, universities, churches, the Christian religion, a village life in orderly, civilized, self-governed municipalities; a pure family life, newspapers, books, statesmen who can debate questions of international law, like Mabini, and organize governments, like Aguinaldo; poets like José Rizal; aye, and patriots who can die for liberty, like José Rizal. The Boer republic is a nation, and it is a crime to crush out its life, though its population be less than that of Providence, R. I. Each one of our old thirteen States would have been a nation, even if it had stood alone. And the Philippine republic, with twenty times the number of the Boers, a people more than the whole thirteen States who joined in the Declaration put together, is a nation, and it is a greater crime still to crush out its life.

AGUINALDO BRAVE, HONEST, AND PATRIOTIC

If there were no Constitution, if there were no Declaration, if there were no international law, if there were nothing but the history of the past two years, the American people would be bound in honor, if there be honor, bound in common honesty, if there be honesty, not to crush out this Philippine republic, and not to wrest from this people its independence. The history of our dealing with the Philippine people is found in the reports of our commanders. It is all contained in our official documents and published statements of General Anderson and in the speeches of the President. It is little known to the country to-day. When it shall be known, I believe it will cause a revolution in public sentiment.

There are 1,200 islands in the Philippine group. They extend as far as from Maine to Florida. They have a population variously estimated at from 8,000,000 to 12,000,000. There are wild tribes who never heard of Christ, and islands that never heard of Spain. But among them are the people of the Island of Luzon, numbering 3,500,000, and the people of the Visayan Islands, numbering 2,500,000 more. They are a Christian and civilized people. They wrested their independence from Spain and established a republic. Their rights are no more to be affected by the few wild tribes in their own mountains or by the dwellers in the other islands than the rights of our old thirteen states were affected by the French in Canada, or the Six Nations of New York, or the Cherokees of Georgia, or the Indians west of the Mississippi. Twice our commanding generals, by their own confession, assured these people of their independence. Clearly and beyond all cavil we formed an alliance with them.

A FEW PREGNANT QUESTIONS

We expressly asked them to co-operate with us. We handed over our prisoners to their keeping; we sought their help in caring for our sick and wounded. We were told by them again and again and again that they were fighting for independence. Their purpose was as well known to our generals, to the War Department, and to the President, as the fact that they were in arms. We never undeceived them until the time when hostilities were declared in 1899. The President declared again and again that we had no title and claimed no right to anything beyond the town of Manila. Hostilities were begun by us at a place where we had no right to be, and were continued by us in spite of Aguinaldo's disavowal and regret and offer to withdraw to a line we should prescribe. If we crush that republic, despoil that people of their freedom and independence, and subject them to our rule, it will be a story of shame and dishonor.

Is it right, is it just, to subjugate this people? To substitute our government for their self-government, for the constitution they

have proclaimed and established, a scheme of government such as we could devise ten thousand miles away?

Is it right, to put over them officers whom we are to select and they are to obey and pay?

Is it right to make tariffs for our interests and not theirs?

Are the interests of the Manila tobacco grower to be decided upon hearings given to the tobacco raisers of Connecticut River valley?

Are these mountains of iron, and nuggets of gold, and stores of coal, and hemp-bearing fields, and fruit-bearing gardens to be looked upon by our legislators with covetous eyes?

Is it our wealth or their wealth these things are to increase?

There are other pregnant questions, some of which perhaps require a little examination and a little study of the reports of our commanders.

Had they rightfully achieved their independence when hostilities began between us and them?

Did they forfeit their independence by the circumstances of the war?

THEY WERE FIT FOR INDEPENDENCE

On the whole, have they not shown that they are fit for self-government, fit as Cuba, fit as Greece, fit as Spain, fit as Japan, fit as Haiti or San Domingo, fit as any country to the south of us, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, was when, with our approval, those countries won their liberties from Spain?

Can we rightfully subjugate a people because we think them unfit for self-government?

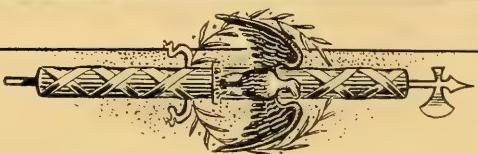
They say Aguinaldo, in the beginning, established a dictatorship. So did we. The difference is he promised to abandon it when independence was achieved, accompanied it with a form of government, and the soldiers under his command were eager to give way to the civil power, even when there came what turned out to be a false rumor that independence was not to be interfered with by us.



E. O. WOLCOTT.
SENATOR FROM COLORADO



GEORGE F. HOAR.
SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.





WILLIAM SULZER.
REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW YORK.



EX-GOVERNOR STONE.
OF MISSOURI.

We, on the other hand, steadfastly refused to promise anything for the future, and we refuse it now. The dictatorship for a short time of the trusted and beloved leader of a nation fighting for freedom and the dictatorship forever of a foreign country talking about Chinese trade and mountains of coal and nuggets of gold are very different things.

REMARKABLE DEVELOPMENT

It seems to me that the Filipino leaders and the Filipino people have shown themselves, under difficult and trying conditions, as fit for freedom and self-government as any people south of us on the American continent from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. I believe if we had dealt with them as it seems to me we ought to have dealt with them, they would have established their nation in constitutional liberty much more rapidly than has beeen done by any Spanish-speaking people. Certainly they would have compared favorably with Haiti, with San Domingo, or even with Mexico in her early days. They devised an excellent constitution. They had a congress, they had courts, they had a president, they had a cabinet. Much less than this was declared by our imperialist friends sufficient to make Cuba a nation entitled to recognition. It is true they declared a dictatorship for their transition period, just as Bolivar did in the South American countries: just as Massachusetts did with her committee of safety during the first few years of the Revolutionary war. They had newspapers, schools, literature, statesmen. They have exhibited remarkable fighting qualities, considering the enormous superiority of the mighty antagonist with whom they had to deal. Major Younghusband, an English writer of great intelligence, sympathizing himself with the British view of human rights and the relations of powerful countries to weak ones, which our friends have imbibed of late days, says that their people were stirred to their last outbreak against Spain by the effect of a powerful novel, just as our people in the old anti-slavery days were moved by "Uncle Tom's Cabin." They are Christians. In their houses and churches are found books, paintings, and other works of art. One pretty high authority—I

do not think that is at all true, however—says that there was less illiteracy there than in the United States. But I have no doubt that there was less illiteracy there than in many parts of the United States, and in all parts of the continent south of the United States at a very recent period. The state papers which these people have issued show a high degree of intelligence. Their communications to our generals, whether oral or written, while they show something undoubtedly of the attitude of weakness dealing with strength, are, on the whole, highly creditable to their sagacity.

ANOTHER POLICY PROPOSED

But we are told if we oppose the policy of our imperialistic and expanding friends we are bound to suggest some policy of our own as a substitute for theirs. We are asked what we would do in this difficult emergency. It is a question not difficult to answer. I for one am ready to answer it.

1. I would declare now that we will not take these islands to govern them against their will.

2. I would reject a cession of sovereignty which implies that sovereignty may be bought and sold and delivered without the consent of the people. Spain had no rightful sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. She could not rightfully sell it to us. We could not rightfully buy it from her.

3. I would require all foreign governments to keep out of these islands.

4. I would offer to the people of the Philippines our help in maintaining order until they have a reasonable opportunity to establish a government of their own.

5. I would aid them by advice, if they desire it, to set up a free and independent government.

6. I would invite all the great powers of Europe to unite in an agreement that that independence shall not be interfered with by us, by themselves, or by any one of them with the consent of the others. As to this I am not so sure. I should like quite as well to tell them it is not to be done whether they consent or not.

7. I would declare that the United States will enforce the same doctrine as applicable to the Philippines that we declared as to Mexico and Haiti and the South American Republics. It is true that the Monroe Doctrine, a doctrine based largely on our regard for our own interests, is not applicable either in terms or in principle to a distant Asiatic territory. But undoubtedly, having driven out Spain, we are bound, and have the right, to secure to the people we have liberated an opportunity, undisturbed and in peace, to establish a new government for themselves.

8. I would then, in a not distant future, leave them to work out their own salvation, as every nation on earth, from the beginning of time, has wrought out its own salvation. Let them work out their own salvation, as our own ancestors slowly and in long centuries wrought out theirs; as Germany, as Switzerland, as France, in briefer periods, wrought out theirs: as Mexico and the South American Republics have accomplished theirs, all of them within a century, some of them within the life of a generation. To attempt to confer the gift of freedom from without, or to impose freedom from without on any people, is to disregard all the lessons of history. It is to attempt

“A gift of that which is not to be given

By all the blended powers of earth and heaven.”

9. I would strike out of your legislation the oath of allegiance to us and substitute an oath of allegiance to their own country.

If you once get involved and entangled in this policy of dominion and empire, you have not only to get the assent of three powers—House, Senate, and President—to escape from it, but to the particular plan and scheme and method of such escape.

My friends say they are willing to trust the people and the future. And so am I. I am willing to trust the people as our fathers trusted them. I am willing to trust the people as they have, so far, trusted themselves; a people regulated, governed, constrained by the moral law, by the Constitution and by the Declaration. It is the constitutional, not the unconstitutional, will of the American people in which I trust. It is Philip sober and not

Philip drunk to whom I am willng to commit the destiny of myself and my children. A people without a constitution is, as I just said, like a man without a conscience. It is the least trustworthy and the most dangerous force on the face of the earth. The utterances of those gentlemen, who, when they are reminded of moral and constitutional restraints, answer us that we are timid, and that they trust the people, are talking in the spirit of the French, not of the American revolution; they are talking in the spirit which destroys republics, and not in the spirit that builds them; they are talking in the spirit of the later days of Rome, of the later days of Athens, and not in the spirit of the early days of any republic that ever existed on this side of the ocean or on the other.

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

I love and trust the American people. I yield to no man in my confidence in the future of the Republic. To me the dearest blessings of life, dearer than property, dearer than home, dearer than kindred, are my pride in my country and my hope for the future of America. But the people that I trust is the people that established the Constitution and which abides by its restraints. The people that I trust is the people that made the great Declaration, and their children, who mean forever to abide by its principles. The country in whose future I have supreme and unbounded confidence is the Republic, not a despotism on the one hand, or an unchecked and unlicensed democracy on the other. It is no mere democracy. It is the indissoluble union of indestructible states, I disavow and spurn the doctrine that has been more than once uttered by the advocates of this policy of imperialism on the floor of the Senate, that the sovereignty of the American people is inferior to any other because it is restrained and confined within constitutional boundaries. If that be true, the limited monarchy of England is inferior to the despotism of Russia; if that be true, a constitutional republic is inferior to an unconstitutional usurpation; if that be ture, a man restrained by the moral law, and obeying the dictates of a conscience, is inferior to the reckless, hardened, unrestrained criminal.

CHAPTER X.

Porto Rico

Its Close Relations to This Country—The Earliest of the New Possessions to Receive Attention—Its Revenues and Expenses—Its New Government—Senator Foraker's Defence of the Policy of the Administration—The Policy Criticised by Senators Proctor and Hoar

LITTLE did Americans expect when in their enthusiasm to help poor Cuba in its struggle to free itself from the oppression of the Spanish rule that they would be called upon to care for that beautiful gem of the Antilles, Porto Rico. The resources and beautiful physical features of the island are described elsewhere. Not only devastated by the uncertainties of war and the march of armies, but also laid waste by the hurricanes which, in a manner heretofore almost unknown even in these tropical climes, had visited the island.

Porto Rico at the beginning of 1900 was in a deplorable condition. Under our Republican form of Government—with Congress to take time to learn the needs of the island and requirements of the situation, time has been lost in rendering to the island the assistance it needed. In his annual message to Congress in December, the President—knowing full well the desires of the people of the island and the trend of public sentiment here, reviewed the situation and spoke as follows:

“Since the session Porto Rico has been denied the principal markets she had long enjoyed, and our tariffs have been continued against her products as when she was under Spanish sovereignty. The markets of Spain are closed to her products except upon terms to which the commerce of all nations is subjected. The island of Cuba, which used to buy her cattle and tobacco without customs duties, now imposes the same duties upon these products as from any other country entering her ports.

She has, therefore, lost her free intercourse with Spain and Cuba, without any compensating benefits in this market. Her coffee was little known and not in use by our people, and, therefore, there was no demand here for this, one of her chief products. The markets of the United States should be opened up to her products. Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico, and give her products free access to our markets."

Again on March 2, 1900, he sends a special message to Congress, as follows :

"Since the evacuation of Porto Rico by the Spanish forces on the 18th day of October, 1898, the United States has collected on products coming from that island to the ports of the United States the duties fixed by the Dingley act, and amounting to \$2,095,455.88, and will continue to collect under said law until Congress shall otherwise direct. Although I had the power, and, having in mind the best interests of the people of the island, used it, to modify duties on goods and products entering into Porto Rico, I did not have the power to remit or modify duties on Porto Rican products coming into the ports of the United States. In view of the pressing necessity for immediate revenue in Porto Rico for conducting the government there and for the extension of public education, and in view also of the provisional legislation just inaugurated by the House of Representatives and for the purpose of making the principle embodied in that legislation applicable to the immediate past as well as to the immediate future, I recommend that the above sum, so collected and the sums hereafter collected under existing law, shall, without waiting for the enactment of the general legislation now pending, be appropriated for the use and benefit of the island."

In response to this message Congress at once passed a measure, authorizing the treasurer of the United States to refund to the account of Porto Rico all revenues collected from the island amounting to \$2,000,000.

GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAND

Subsequently and after sharp debate the bill was passed and signed by the President, providing for the government of the island.

It declares that the inhabitants of the island, except such as shall elect before a given date to remain subjects of Spain, are citizens of Porto Rico, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States; provides that all laws and ordinances now in force shall continue so, except as changed by this act or by military

orders at present in force, or as they are in conflict with the statutory laws of the United States; repeals the law forbidding the marriage of priests, and provides for divorce on the ground of adultery; retires the coins of Porto Rico, and substitutes therfor United States coinage; transfers all titles acquired in Porto Rico by the United States to bridges, water-powers, highways, harbor shores, and the like, to the Porto Rican Government, for the benefit of the people of Porto Rico; and requires all officials to take oath to support the Constitution of the United States as well as the laws of Porto Rico. Under the bill, the government of the island is to be exercised by a Governor, an Executive Council, and a House of Delegates. The Governor and Executive Council are to be appointed by the President; the House of Delegates is to be elected by the people. The Governor is vested with the general powers of a Governor of a Territory of the United States.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

The Executive Council, consisting of a secretary, Attorney-General, Treasurer, Auditor, Commissioner of the Interior, a Commissioner of Education, and five other members, is vested with the legislative powers of an upper chamber, and is authorized to determine the qualifications for popular suffrage, and such regulations respecting registration as it deems expedient. Five members of this Council must be Porto Ricans. The House of Delegates is to be composed of thirty-five members, elected biennially, five from each of the seven districts into which the island is to be divided by the Executive Council; but no person is eligible to membership unless he is 25 years of age, and is able to write either the Spanish or the English language, or is possessed in his own right of taxable property situated in Porto Rico. No franchises of a public or quasi-public nature can be granted except with the approval of Congress. The judicial power is vested in the courts of Porto Rico as already established; the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court to be appointed by the President, the judges of the district courts by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the

Executive Council; the other court officials to be chosen as the Legislative Assembly may direct. A resident Commissioner is to be elected by popular suffrage, who shall reside at Washington, to represent the Porto Rican Government there. He must be a bona-fide citizen of Porto Rico, and able to read and write the English language. A Commission of three members is also provided to revise and codify the laws of Porto Rico. A tariff is enacted equal to 15 per cent. of the Dingley duties, on imports into the United States from Porto Rico, and on imports into Porto Rico from the United States, with some modifications it, however, is to cease to be operative, except as to imports into Porto Rico from countries other than the United States, on March 1, 1902, "or sooner, if Porto Rico shall have enacted a law and put into operation a system of local taxation sufficient to meet the necessities of its government."

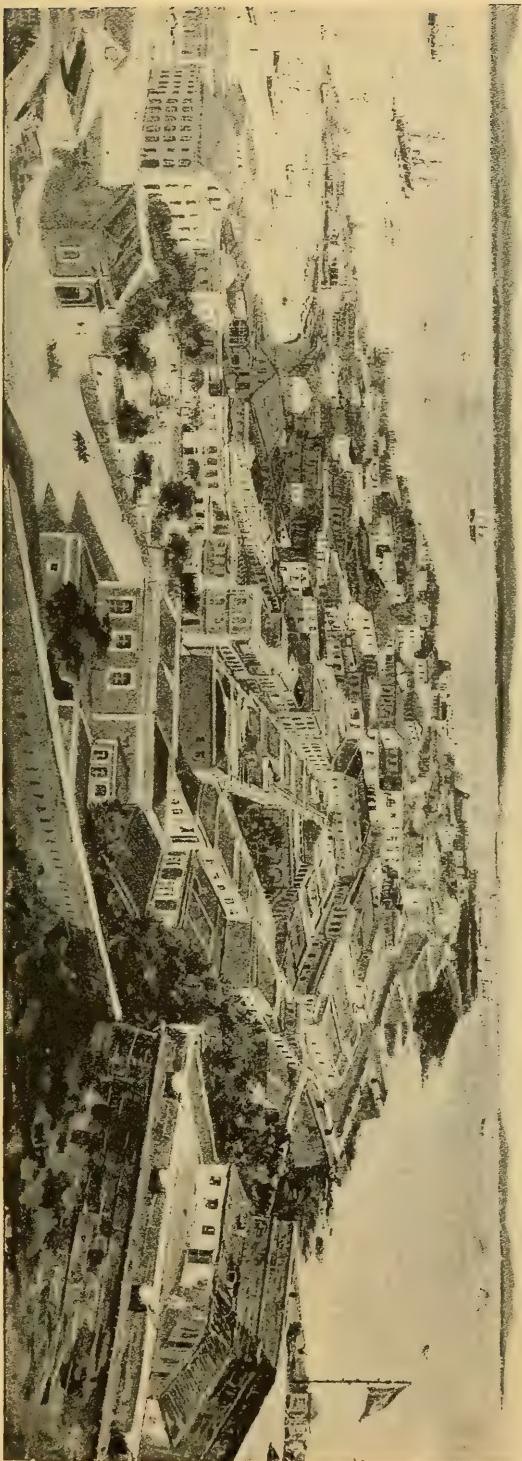
In explanation and defense of this measure, Senator J. B. Foraker, Jr., of Ohio, says:

"Criticism of the Porto Rico legislation has been due to two misapprehensions: First, as to the attitude of the President in regard to it, and, second, as to the legal relation of Porto Rico to the United States.

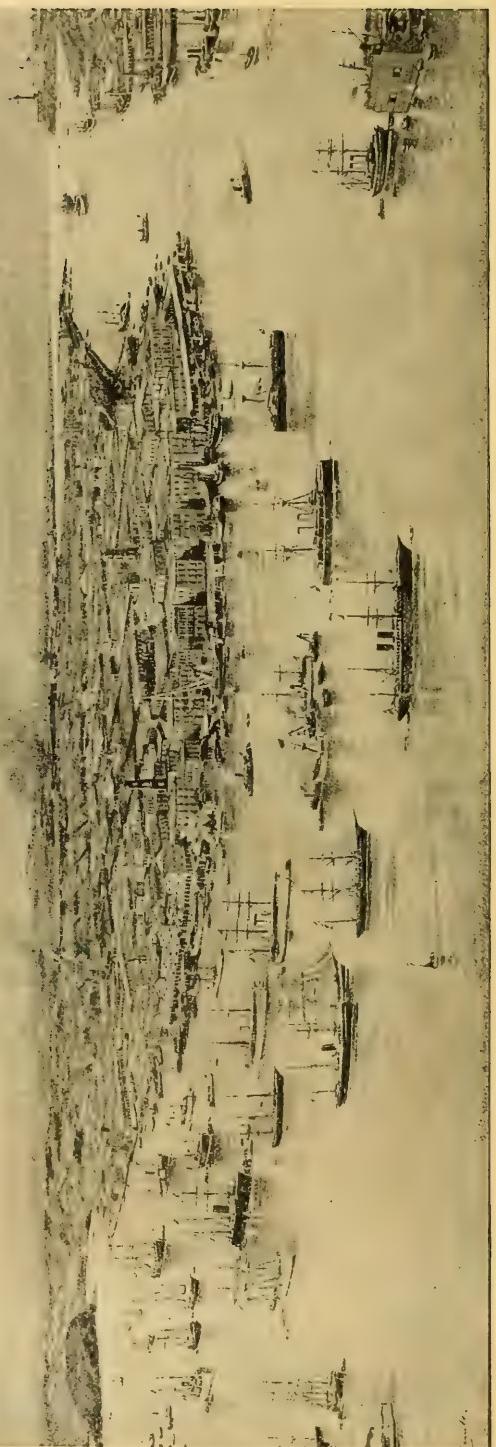
The President, in good faith, recommended free trade between the United States and Porto Rico, but earnestly favored, and personally, as well as officially, approved the bill that has been passed, because, in the first place, its provisions are a substantial and almost a literal compliance with his recommendation, and, in the second place, they are far more liberal and generous than his recommendation was.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT URGED

The President, in his message, used this much-quoted language: 'Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico, and give her products free access to our markets.' When he made that recommendation he had reference to what had occurred, and the then existing conditions.



SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO
This city, the capital of Porto Rico, was founded by Ponce de Leon in 1511. It is a fine specimen of an old walled town, having portcullis gates, walls and battlements which cost millions of dollars. It is built on a long, narrow island, connected with the mainland by a bridge. Its population in 1889, estimated at 31,000.



CITY OF HAVANA AND HARBOR SHOWING WRECK OF BATTLESHIP "MAINE"

Cuba has four cities of marked importance to the commercial world: Havana with a population of 250,000, Santiago with 71,000, Matanzas with 29,000 and Cienfuegos with 30,000 are all seaport cities with excellent harbors and do a large exporting business.

Before Porto Rico was ceded to us she traded chiefly —almost entirely—with Spain and Cuba ; but when the cession occurred, both Spain and Cuba closed their ports against her products, except on payment of tariff duties that were so high as to be practically prohibitive.

The President, as commander-in-chief, during the military occupation, could control the tariff duties levied on imports into the island, but had no power to alter those imposed by law on imports into the United States. In consequence, our ports remained closed to Porto Rico, except on payment of full Dingley rates of tariff, as were those of Spain, Cuba and the rest of the world. As a result of it all, the war took from Porto Rico the markets she had and gave her none in return. This occasioned complete business stagnation and paralysis. Idleness prevailed everywhere, and soon tens of thousands were in want and suffering for the necessities of life.

PAUPERIZED BY A HURRICANE

This condition was relieved slightly by an executive order that placed all food supplies, implements of husbandry, machinery, etc., on the free list, going into Porto Rico ; but matters were constantly growing worse when, on August 8, 1899, the island was visited by a hurricane that devastated the coffee plantations and did great injury to all kinds of property.

By this course of events the people had been brought to absolute poverty and despair when the President wrote his message. It occurred to him that the greatest and speediest measure of relief would be realized by giving them free access to our markets. But in that message the President also pointed out the necessity of providing for Porto Rico a civil government to take the place of military rule, and recommended immediate action in that respect.

Both recommendations were general in their nature ; both were made with full knowledge that action on the part of Congress could not be taken until an investigation might be made, and that the results of that investigation would, of course, control and determine the exact character of action to be taken.

In view of these considerations, we decided, first, that we would find some way to exempt the people of that island from the direct taxation of their property, such as every other State and Territory of the Union has always been subjected to. The generosity of this proposition was far greater and more helpful than that recommended by the President. No such favor has ever been shown to any other people for whom we have legislated.

UNUSUAL FAVORS EXTENDED

We next decided, for the reasons already given, that we would not, for the time being, undertake to apply and enforce our internal revenue laws in the island, but, except on merchandise imported into the United States, we would exempt the people of Porto Rico therefrom—another unprecedented favor never before shown to anybody. In the third place we decided that we would protect their coffee from injurious competition by levying a duty of five cents a pound on all coffee imported into Porto Rico.

Finally, we determined that there should be collected on all goods imported into Porto Rico from foreign countries tariff duties as provided by the tariff laws of the United States, but that, instead of turning this money over to the National Treasury for the benefit of the United States, as we have always heretofore done as to every other Territory, we would turn it over to Porto Rico, for the benefit and support of its Government.

DINGLEY TARIFF REDUCED

We then found, according to the best estimates we could make, that when all this had been done there would remain a large deficiency, amounting to from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000. The question then was how further we could raise revenue without directly taxing the property of the island to meet this deficiency.

We found that we could, in our opinion, best accomplish this by leaving a light tariff duty upon the commerce between the United States and Porto Rico. For this reason we finally concluded, and provided in the bill, that, instead of absolute free

trade, which all desired, as well as the President, we would, for a short time, until the local government could be put in operation and devise a system of taxation for its support, reduce the tariff on dutiable goods coming from Porto Rico into the United States only 85 per cent., instead of entirely remitting it, and that we would, for the present, allow all food products and necessaries of life, farm implements, machinery, etc., to enter Porto Rico free of duty; but, on other articles, whatever they might be, we would reduce the Dingley rates 85 per cent.

Our Democratic friends said : "The Constitution follows the flag," and that we were violating that instrument ; that it required that duties, customs and imposts should be uniform throughout the United States, and, consequently, we could not have free coffee here and protected coffee there ; internal revenue taxation here, and no such taxation there ; that we could not collect tariff taxes there, except as here, for the common benefit of the whole country ; and that Porto Rico, being a part of the United States, we could not collect tariff duties on commerce between there and here any more than between New York and Pennsylvania.

I think they believed what they said ; and, no matter what happens, I think they will always believe it ; but I think, nevertheless, they were wrong about it—just as they were wrong when they contended, in 1861-65, that there was no constitutional power to preserve the Constitution ; and when, a year ago, they contended that we could not acquire territory, even by discovery or conquest, except with the present intention of ultimately admitting it to statehood.

But, however, that may be, we answered that, in our opinion, Congress had power to govern these new acquisitions, and, if so, it must be a power to govern them according to the varying conditions of each ; that if the best interest of Porto Rico required a duty on coffee, we ought to be able to give it, or surrender the island ; that if the destitution and poverty of the people of that island were such as to require an exemption of their property from taxation, we ought to be able to grant it, or confess our incompetency to govern."

On the other hand, the question as to the validity and justice of the measure has arisen, and involves the interpretation of the Constitution. One of the ablest of American constitutional lawyers, Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds, takes issue with those who defend the Porto Rican law, and writes as follows to Senator Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, who also opposed the measure :

"I have yours of the 20th instant, and, both as an American citizen and an original and constant Republican, am very glad to learn that you are opposed to legislation having the effect of imposing on the people of Porto Rico (whether we call them citizens or subjects of the United States) any kind of revenue burden or benefit that is not common to the whole people of the United States. Any such measure, if enacted, will, I believe, be unique in our whole history. It will imitate and parallel the acts of the British Parliament which forced our fathers to just resistance and revolution, and led them to establish a Constitution which, in studied and explicit terms, forbade any such discrimination.

THE CONSTITUTION GREATER THAN CONGRESS

I know there are many gentlemen engaged in public affairs whose intelligence and patriotism are above question, who believe that our Constitution does not embrace the Territories, and that as to them the President and Congress possess the same omnipotent powers that the British Crown and Parliament have always possessed over their possessions. While I think that position is untenable as a matter of law, I believe the proposed action is still less defensible, viewed in the light of those principles of liberty, justice and equality of rights we all profess to believe in, and which, whether we believe in and practice or not, are still living and will live and bear fruits more and more among men, in spite of all the tyrants—well meaning or otherwise—in the world.

I need not weary you by referring to the often stated arguments on the general subject, but I will mention one aspect of it, which, so far as I have noticed, has not been particularly adverted to. Congress is the creature of the Constitution and not the

reverse. A law passed by Congress in its creation—a mere expression of its will which it may repeal or change at pleasure. If, therefore (assuming that the Constitution does not exist in Porto Rico), Congress were to enact a statute declaring that the present Constitution shall be extended over and be in force in that island, the Constitution gets its only force there by virtue of the statute ; it is a statutory Constitution and nothing else, and a repeal of the statute would extinguish it. But the Constitution as such, I suppose all admit, is not subject to the control of Congress either to enlarge or diminish, to expand or contract, or to be applied to or withdrawn from any people or place. It is not a movable think like the Ark of the Covenant of the Israelites, to be set up and moved here and there as the tribes might wander. It is the actual event and condition and not the legislative or executive will that must in the nature of things determine the status of a man or a country under it.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS ALREADY THERE

The instances in which Congress has declared in statutes organizing Territories that the Constitution and laws should be in force, there are no evidence that they were not already there, for Congress and all legislative bodies have often made enactments that in effect merely declared existing law. In such cases they declare a pre-existing truth to ease the doubts of casuists. Porto Rico and its people came under the sovereignty of the United States by force of the treaty with Spain, and I think all will agree that if any part of the people of the island levied war against the United States or adhered to our enemies, etc., they would be guilty of treason. But treason is an exclusively defined constitutional crime, and it cannot exist on the island unless the Constitution that defines it is in force there.

Apart, however, from considerations of fundamental equal law for all who owe allegiance to our flag of liberty and justice, there are, it seems to me, other very weighty and commanding reasons why we should treat the people of Porto Rico on the basis of absolute civil equality of right and circumstance with the citizens of our

states and home territories, and in doing so, if, as is contended, the Constitution is not in force there, we make no precedent for the territories on the other side of the globe, for, like all measures, within the discretion of Congress, each subject must, of course, be dealt with when it arises under its own peculiar circumstances and conditions. These people gladly yielded to our dominion on assurances never disowned or withdrawn of our commanders and other officers that they would become free and equal citizens of the Republic, with all the rights implied by that term."

The Porto Rico act provides for a territorial form of government with officers and salaries as follows :

PROVISIONS OF THE MEASURE

A Governor, salary \$8,000, with free use of executive mansion ; a Secretary, with a salary of \$4,000 ; an Attorney General, \$4,000 ; a Treasurer, \$5,000 ; an Auditor, \$4,000 ; a Commissioner of the Interior, \$4,000 ; a Commissioner of Education, \$3,000 ; a Chief Justice, \$5,000 ; two Associate Justices, \$4,500 each ; a Marshal, \$3,000 ; a United States District Judge, \$5,000 ; a United States District Attorney, \$4,000 ; a United States District Marshal, \$3,500, and eleven Executive Councilors at \$2,500 each, all to be appointed by the President, and six of the latter to be Americans.

For comparison with a territory of the United States already organized, we take Mexico, with much less population and less wealthy, which has a Governor at a salary of \$2,600 a year, a Secretary at \$1,800, an Auditor at \$3,000, a Treasurer at \$2,500, a Chief Justice, a Solicitor General at \$2,000, and a Superintendent of Public Instruction at \$2,500.

CHAPTER XI.

Shall the Government Subsidize Merchant Ships

Hon. Marcus A. Hanna Favors the Proposition and President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale Argues Against It.

THE leaders of the Republican party have been in favor of subsidizing the merchant vessels, in order to encourage in this country the building of a larger number of vessels for the purpose of carrying commerce. In the measure before the Fifty-sixth Congress, it is proposed to expend \$9,000,000 a year for a term of years, as subsidies of vessels and the encouragement of seamanship. It is argued that this will give larger terms which will be felt in our industries. It will create a larger outlet for farm products of all kinds and for manufactured articles.

Senator Marcus A. Hanna sets forth very clearly his reasons for supporting the measure now before Congress, as follows :

"If every American citizen could take the time to acquaint himself with the provisions of the shipping bill now before Congress, I believe that not one in five hundred would then oppose it. The thing the friends of the measure most court is a fair discussion of its details.

PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED BILL

The bill is not difficult to understand. Its purpose is to offer to Americans a sum from the National Treasury equal for a period of years to the extra cost in this country of building ships and operating them in competition with foreign ships in our foreign trade. As the number of ships increase, their compensation decreases. Simultaneously the cost of their construction will undoubtedly diminish, as will the cost of their operation. Finally, it is

hoped that the compensation may cease at the end of ten and twenty years, as to old and new vessels respectively without arresting the further growth of American shipping.

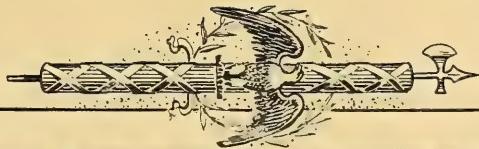
It has been demonstrated before the Senate Commerce Committee and the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, that it costs from 20 to 25 per cent more to build ships in this country than it does to build them in Great Britain. This difference is due to the wages paid to the workmen in American shipyards being nearly double the wages paid in British shipyards. In this country employment is not constant in shipyards. For this reason the full efficiency of the men cannot be applied to construction. Shop economies are impossible where the men are intermittently employed. At least 50 per cent. of the cost of a finished ship is paid to labor in the shipyard alone. When there is steady employment in American shipyards for a few years the efficiency of the men and the economies in construction will enable our people to build ships as cheaply as they are built in other countries and without reducing the wages paid to labor.

COST OF RUNNING THE SHIPS

Then there is the cost of running the ships. The wages paid the officers, firemen and seamen in American ships are fully 25 per cent. higher than is paid in other countries' ships. The food provided in American ships is much superior in quality and more abundant in quantity than in foreign ships.

In many of our states vessel property is taxed on its value, while the practice in foreign countries is to tax only the net earnings of the ships.

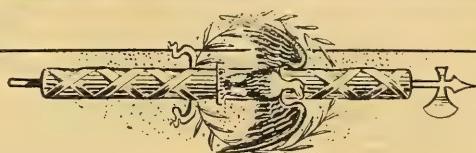
One of the most difficult things to do is to draw the trade away from the men whose control of it has been long established, and who are therefore familiar with and experienced regarding its changing needs and conditions. The beginner is at a great disadvantage. To build up a new line of ships and keep them constantly and profitably employed requires agents in all parts of the country to which the ships run, as well as agents all over our own



GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER

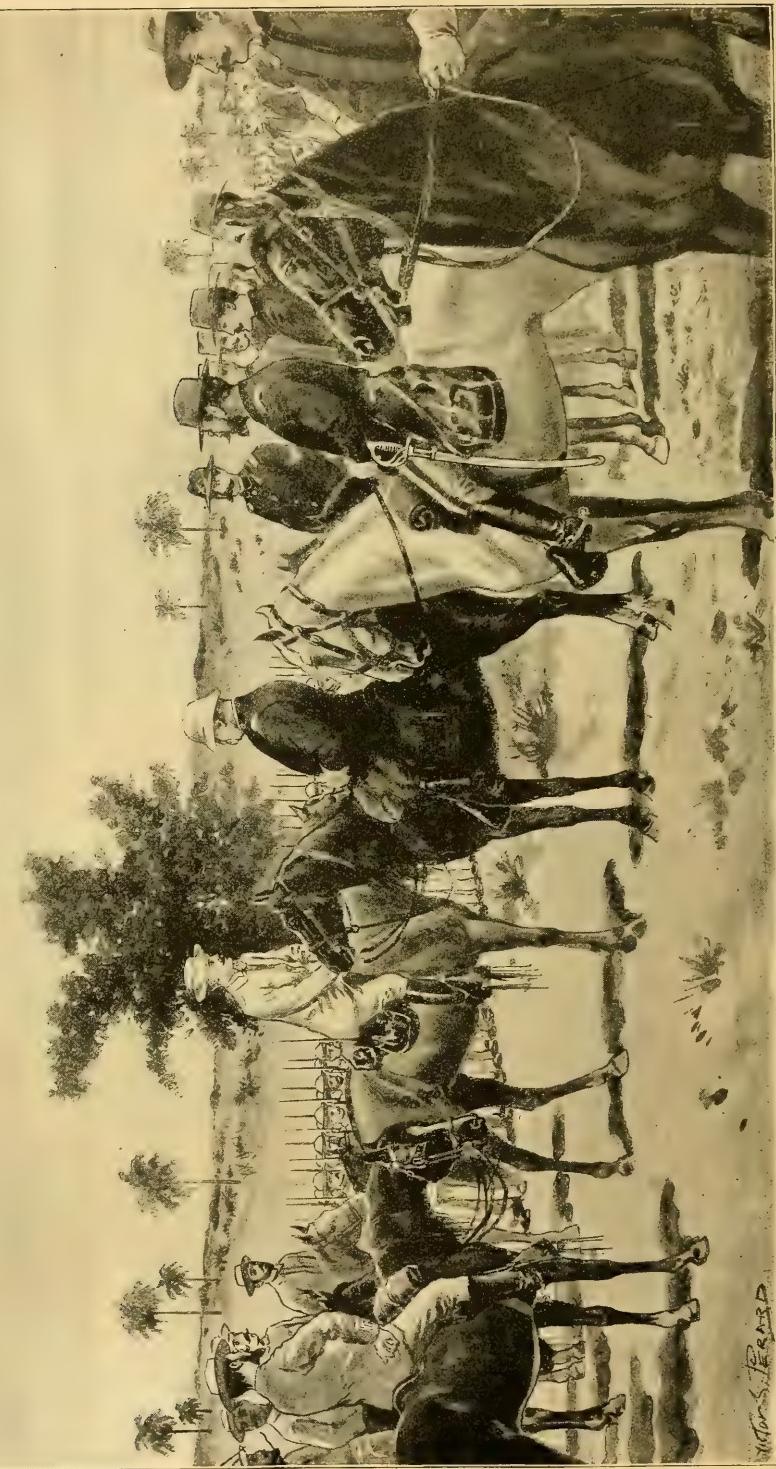


GEN. ARTHUR MACARTHUR.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES.



THE SURRENDER OF SANTIAGO, JULY 17, 1898

After a little ceremony the two commanding generals faced each other, and General Toral, speaking in Spanish, said: "Through fate I am forced to surrender to General Shafter, of the American Army, the city and strongholds of the city of Santiago." General Shafter in reply said: "I receive the city in the name of the Government of the United States."



country. The stability and permanence of the line must be demonstrated to the cautious shippers who are used to, and possibly contented with, the service of the old-established line. This advantage in itself is an enormous one, and it is largely that advantage which now enables British ships to successfully compete with Norwegian, Italian, Dutch, French and German ships. For American ships to secure the larger part of their own foreign trade, and of which they now carry less than 9 per cent., will require time, courage, costly experience, probable losses and little profit for a long time to come.

WHY NOT LET PRESENT CONDITIONS CONTINUE

Why should our people be asked to build up an American marine in the foreign trade—why not let present conditions continue?

There are many good reasons. First, this nation needs merchant ships, trained and experienced officers and men, for the reinforcement of the navy in time of need; for auxiliary naval cruisers, for troop transports, for colliers, and for many other purposes, as was shown during our late war with Spain. Next, there is the economic unwiseom of sending \$200,000,000 out of the country each year to pay our bills for ocean transportation. It is too serious a drain upon our gold. We need all the favorable trade balances we can get so we may sooner cease to be a debtor nation.

We have, in the greatest abundance and cheapness, all the materials needed in shipbuilding. We have men competent to take these materials in their raw state and transform them into all of the different manufactured shapes and articles needed in the construction of ships. Hundreds of different trades, businesses and professions contribute to the construction of one modern ship. Each of these would feel the stimulus of prosperity that would follow the American construction of the ships we need for the carriage of our imports and exports.

The employment afforded in keeping up a shipping amounting to about 5,000,000 tons is varied, extensive and profitable. Fifty millions of dollars a year would be a very conservative estimate of

the amount that would be spent in our shipyards if our own people supplied all the ships our foreign commerce employs.

Having our own ships we could obtain and expand new foreign markets for our ever-increasing surplus products. If we could double our exports, the prosperous conditions now prevailing all over the country would be still more augmented. We can do it with our own ships. We cannot do it without them.

Appeals have been made to prejudices by the widespread distribution and extended publication of the assertion that wealthy corporations would get the lion's share of the compensation. This is untrue. The man who builds the most ships gets the most money. The man who builds the most ships best serves the naval, economic and commercial interests of the country. Whoever gets the most under this bill must do the most. It is equitable in every sentence. No ships can receive compensation unless they carry cargoes from the United States. No ship can be profitably run for the government aid alone, as in no case does this compensation exceed one-fifth of the actual expense of the ship in operation.

REASONABLE PROFITS MUST BE ASSURED

It takes money to build, to own and to run ships. It takes millions to build and run lines of ships. Only men of large means of their own, or who are able to command what they require or may profitably invest, can do large things as shipowners. Such men do not deserve censure and ridicule. They do not deserve sneers. They deserve fair treatment--only that. We cannot ask them to invest their money at a loss.

If, for the nation's best welfare, for the nation's auxiliary naval needs, for our commercial expansion, we desire to induce our citizens to invest their money in ships built, owned, officered and manned by our own citizens, they must be assured a reasonable profit or they will invest their money where a reasonable profit is assured. Capital need not care whether this bill passes or not. Labor should care. The nation does care.

President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale University takes the stand that in the past, the subsidizing of steamship lines have been a failure, and that advantages claimed for the principle will not be found as claimed. He says in a recent article :

"The United States has in two instances tried the policy of steamship subsidies on a large scale—with the Collins line in 1850-1858 and with the Pacific Mail in 1865-1875. In neither case was the result satisfactory.

The subsidy to the Collins line was in large measure due to the efforts of Mr. King, of Georgia, for some time chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs. As early as 1841, only two years after the first contract of the English Government with Samuel Cunard, he urged the United States to follow the example of England. The first act of Congress on the subject was passed in 1845 ; the amounts devoted to the payment of steamship lines were gradually increased until 1852, when they amounted to nearly \$2,000,000 annually. At the close of that year there were American steamship lines running from New York to Liverpool, Havre and Bremen ; also from various American ports to the West Indies and the Isthmus of Panama, with connections thence to Oregon.

DANGERS OF THE SUBSIDY SYSTEM

Much the most important of these enterprises was the Collins line, which made fortnightly trips from New York to Liverpool, for which it received a subsidy of \$858,000. The history of this line is an instructive one, because it shows clearly the dangers of the subsidy system even under the most favorable circumstances. The boats were designed, built, and managed by thoroughly competent men. They were the finest specimens of steamship construction then existing ; they were probably the best sea-going wooden steamships which have ever been built. They were much more comfortable and much faster than the English boats with which they came into competition ; and though the Cunard line was forced by the influence of their American rivals to build newer and better boats than they had before, they were far from equaling the Collins line.

in speed or comfort. Nor was the American line dishonestly managed. Mr. Collins was largely influenced by patriotic motives. So far from making any money out of his connection with this enterprise, it ultimately caused his financial ruin.

But the fact that there was no intentional dishonesty makes the absence of good economy all the more apparent. The managers believed that they had the public treasury to fall back upon. They indulged in all sorts of expenditures, necessary and unnecessary. Changes were made while the vessels were in process of construction which greatly increased their cost, in many cases without corresponding advantage. The capital stock was insufficient. The company was heavily in debt from the first. The care in management which was the only thing that could have enabled them to carry this load of debt was altogether wanting. If any one desired an illustration of the danger of paralyzing individual thrift by government aid, he could hardly find a better one than the early history of the Collins line. Under such circumstances the apparent prosperity of the business could not last long. The rage for making fast passages rather than safe ones occasioned the loss of two steamers; a change of feeling in Congress caused the subsidy to be withdrawn, and the company was found to have nothing left to stand on.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE EARLIER SUBSIDIES IN 1858

The Pacific Mail had a much longer life; but its history was in many respects worse than that of the Collins line. It was less harmed by the discontinuance of the earlier subsidies in 1858 than by the renewal of the policy in 1865. The \$500,000 a year which was paid them for their China service by the contract of 1865 proved but a poor compensation for the unsound methods which were introduced into the management—in part, apparently, as the result of that contract. Up to 1865 the Pacific Mail had been a sound concern. Its shares stood above par. After that it fell into the hands of speculators; it lost nine vessels in as many years; its shares dropped below forty. An additional subsidy of another

\$500,000 was voted in 1872. But the company was unable to get the new vessels ready for service within the time stipulated; and while the government was hesitating what to do, a series of disclosures showed that the contract of 1872 had been obtained by wholesale corruption. Public opinion was strongly aroused against the system. The contracts of 1865 were allowed to expire and were not renewed. It was felt that the trade which had been encouraged had not been that of merchants in China, but of speculators and lobbyists at home.

Such facts as these furnish a strong argument against the attempt to build up an American steam marine by means of subsidies. But there are special circumstances which render the lesson doubly important at the present time.

TRADITION THAT TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG

In the first place, the difficulties of building up an American carrying trade in this manner to-day are exceptionally great. The cost of ships in America is greater than it is elsewhere. No foreign-built ship is allowed to carry the American flag. Our ship owners are thus compelled to buy in a dear market and then compete on even terms with those whose plant is cheaper. But this is not all. Even if we were allowed, by a change in the navigation laws, to buy our ships wherever we pleased, we should not be on an equality with our competitors in this matter. In order that American capital may be attracted into the foreign carrying trade, it is necessary that the rate of interest obtainable in that business should be about as high as that which can be had in other lines of business which offer chances for investment. That is not the case at the present time. Shipping profits have been cut down by large investments of European capital, artificially stimulated by subsidies. They have been so much cut down that there has been for two or three years practically no money to be made in the business. * * *

There is a tradition that "trade follows the flag;" that where our ships run we shall develop a trade. This may have been true before the invention of the telegraph, when the cargo was so often

a matter of private enterprise on the part of the ship owner. But there can be no doubt that it is every day less and less true; and it is probably furthest from the truth on those lines of communication where subsidized steamships would be likely to run. The notion that such lines would act as drummers for New York houses has very little basis in fact.

If, under this condition of things, we are asked to grant steamship subsidies as a patriotic way of getting rid of the surplus, the presumption is strongly against the wisdom of any such policy. In all the affairs of life, whether public or private, it is a dangerous thing to spend money simply because you have it. It is almost certain that such money will be unwisely spent. This is conspicuously true of the government expenditures. The really wise ones have not been made where an overflowing public treasury was used to help individual enterprise, but where some specific need was felt, and the Government set about to have that need met in the most efficient way.

A MATTER OF BUSSINESS

England has at times given large steamship subsidies, but she has done it on business principles. It was a political necessity for her to have communication with her colonies, and to have steamships which could furnish her with a naval reserve and a transport service in case of war. In order to do this she had to pay for it. She tried to pay as little as she could for the service rendered; but she could not, without political suicide, dispense with such service. She had the same reasons for subsidizing steamships that we have for maintaining postal communication on lines which do not pay. It was the same reason which has led Germany and Russia to build military railroads or which led us to grant liberal aid to the Union Pacific in 1862 and 1864. In all these cases it was a matter of business for the government to secure its end. The fact that the returns could not all be measured in dollars and cents did not prevent its being sound business policy. In fact, it furnished a strong reason why the government might properly make the expenditure,

because there was an advantage to be gained of which individual enterprise could not reap the benefit.

But where subsidies have been given, as has been recently the case in France or as was done in America in the instances already described, as a means of encouraging private commercial enterprise, it has not proved good business policy. It has caused waste instead of economy, loss rather than gain ; it has not proved a source of naval strength or commercial prosperity for every nation which has adopted it. It has turned out to be simply an inducement to extravagance.

It is undoubtedly desirable to reduce the treasury surplus ; but why ? Just because it offers a temptation to extravagant uses of the money. To make the existence of such a surplus a justification for subsidies is simply to court the evil of which we are afraid. If we spend our money recklessly we shall not have so much left to spend, and in that way the immediate danger may be diminished ; but meantime we shall have done the very harm which we wished to avoid. More than this, we shall have laid the foundation for future evil of the same sort ; for any such lavish expenditure of money conceals the need of wise measures to prevent its accumulation."

CHAPTER XII.

Future Growth of American Trade

The Demand for an American Merchant Marine—The Opening of Foreign Markets—A Canal to Connect the Two Oceans Necessary—Our Possessions in the East to Help Gain the Commercial Supremacy in the East

The views of SENATOR WILLIAM P. FRYE, of Maine

THE discussion of the policy of the present administration in regard to our new possessions, in regard to the subsidizing of American steamship lines, the construction of a ship canal on the Isthmus connecting the two great continents of the Western hemisphere will add much to the intelligent understanding of the issues which, in a measure, will be settled during the administration of the new President.

Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, has been one of the most intelligent students of all these great problems, and commands the respect and regard of men of all parties. His public utterances, therefore, are of unusual interest, as the following discussion will indicate.

All intelligent men know perfectly well to-day that in the foreign carrying trade we have nothing to do whatever; we are out of it.

OUR SHIPS SELDOM SEEN ABROAD

Our ships are never seen anywhere in the world. Four ships of the American Line carry the American flags that go across the water. That is about all there is to it. Last year, with all our enormous exports and imports to and from Europe, our ships did not carry quite 2 per cent., and in all the world they did not carry

quite 9 per cent. The Produce Exchange, a few years ago, made a report, and in that report it said 1750 ships cleared from the port of New York in that year for foreign markets, loaded with our products, and that seven of them carried the American flag. All of you know that, and in knowing it you are very apt to forget that we have such a thing as a lake, coastwise and river freight. We have the finest in the whole wide world. We have a larger one than Germany, France and England combined in the same trade. To-day our tonnage in that fleet, or documented and undocumented vessels, will reach 7,000,000. Suez Canal, which is supposed to carry the commerce of the world, passed, last year, a tonnage of nearly 10,000,000. The Salte Ste. Marie, in eight months of last year, passed a tonnage of 25,000,000—more than entered London or Liverpool in the same time. It took 3,500,000 tonnage to carry the freights on the Mississippi River alone last year. That fleet carried, last year, 168,000,000 of tons of freight and 200,000,000 of passengers. Your ships in the foreign-carrying trade are unprotected and compete with ships that are protected. Your coastwise, lake and river fleet has been protected for a hundred years by absolute prohibition, no foreign ship being permitted to engage in it under any condition. There is the difference between protection and non-protection.

FOREIGN MARKETS NEEDED

How about the future? Are we going to acquire foreign markets in the future? Take your manufactured product alone, which competes with the world? Your manufactured product must meet all Europe, in all the markets of the world, you paying double the wages that they pay.

Is there going to be a surplus of manufactured product? Last year we exported, of manufactured product, \$1,000,000 worth every day, and yet consumption at home was greater than it ever had been in any year in the history of this Republic. Your wages were higher than they had ever been before, your product was greater than ever before, and your export, as I say, was \$1,000,000 a day.

A few years ago your export of manufactured product, as compared to that, was a mere bagatelle. In those few years it has been growing in that way. Your surplus product is increasing every hour that we live. It is bound to increase every hour we live, and your necessity for a foreign market is growing more serious every single year. The danger of an unsold surplus is growing every year to be a greater and greater menace to the prosperity of this country.

What are we going to do about it? We must double what we have been doing at least, and that you will I have not a shadow of doubt. But you must go further than that. You must look to other sources and in other directions for assistance. Your most dangerous commercial rival in the next twenty-five years is Germany; indeed, she is the only rival you have any occasion to be afraid of, and you have occasion to be afraid of her. Her people are economical and very hard-working. She patterns your machinery the moment you get it out of the inventor's hands to-day; she even patterns your goods, and in some instances puts them out as American goods.

GERMANY'S ENTERPRISE

She is determined upon having the markets of the world, and her Emperor equally determined. She has facilities that we have not. Witness what they are doing to-day in establishing great lines to the great East! See what they mean by it! What do they mean by taking the Caroline Islands from Spain? What do all their preparations to-day mean but a commercial war, more savage and more fierce than any that has yet been fought in our time? She does not pay half the wages to-day, in making the identical goods that you make. Are you going to put your wages down to hers in order to compete with her? That would be a menace to the life of the Republic itself. You cannot cut down the wages of your workmen one-half to compete with Germany. If you do, you will then reduce the consuming power of your people one-half and thus double your product. Are you going to stop your mills and run them on one-half time? In that way you

simply decrease the purchasing power of your own people and increase the cost of the product. That will not do.

BUILD UP THE MERCHANT MARINE

My judgment is that several things are to be done. In the first place, I believe that you ought to carry your exports and imports in American ships, under the American flag, with American masters. Make every master of an American ship an intelligent, active agent to find markets for your goods and to dispose of the goods when the markets are found. When you put a cargo of goods from Philadelphia in a British ship, do you expect that the British master is going to help you dispose of those goods? He is going to hurt you in the disposition of those goods, if he can. The idea of our paying \$500,000 every day that we live, in gold, to England and Germany to carry our exports and bring our imports, is a humiliation that this American people ought not to submit to longer.

I have taken a profound interest in this revival of our merchant marine for a good many years. In 1891 I spent over six months months on the matter, sent for experts from all over the United States to come to Washington to enable me to draft a bill which should revive our merchant marine. We drafted a mail subsidy bill and a bounty bill. Those bills were reported by me to the United States Senate. They both passed the Senate. Then they went over to the House, and the House, apparently without any knowledge on the subject, deliberately cut down the premiums which were to be paid nearly one-half, defeated the bounty bill by about six votes—it was a Democratic House—passed the subsidy bill with the life, as I say, taken out of it, the very last day of the session, too late for a remedy.

It was a failure, and a failure because the bill had been emasculated. Some people think if a ten-knot ship takes twenty tons of coal a day, a twenty-knot ship ought to take but forty. If a ten-knot ship takes twenty tons, a twenty-knot ship should take 300 tons a day, and 100 men to handle it. All that we got, and that was by a trade, was these four ships on the American Line. I was

not for a free ship myself, but your plausible and prevailing Mr. Griscom persuaded me to let him build two of his ships where he chose, if he would build two of them just here. I objected to it. We let them in, and they sail from here to England to-day under the American flag. I was a good deal discouraged with that attempt. It ran along for several years. About three years ago I thought I could see that the American people were taking a new interest in this matter of reviving American shipping, and thought it was a good time to try over again.

URGING SUBSIDIES

I formed a committee on my own responsibility, because experts were an absolute necessity to making any kind of a business deal. I formed a committee of about twenty-five. From Philadelphia I took Mr. Griscom, who knows pretty well about ships; I took Theodore C. Search as a representative of the manufacturing industries; I took Charles Cramp as a shipbuilder; I took Mr. Mink, who has to do with the coastwise trade. I sent out to the Lakes and took men there who had no earthly interest in the matter except as patriotic citizens. I took men who were engaged in the coastwise trade, who had no interest except as patriotic Americans. I took men who believed in discriminating differences. I took men who believed in bounties and made up a committee of twenty-five men, and there never were twenty-five men who devoted so much time to any one single piece of legislation as those men devoted to that.

FLAG UPON THE OCEAN AGAIN

We finally drafted a bill which, in my judgment, will, if it becomes a law, put our flag upon the ocean once more. It has been reported by me to the Senate of the United States. Whenever it gets a chance for consideration, it will pass the United States Senate, and I hope it will pass the National House of Representatives. If it does, we will have agents of our own and ships of our own, within the next five or ten years, to rival the ships of foreign

countries, and meet them on equal terms in the great commercial ports of the world.

Another thing I desire to briefly call your attention to is: Where are you going to look for your export trade? You have to look to the East. Humboldt, more than fifty years ago, said the Pacific was to be the great ocean for trade in the future. He was a true prophet. We all know it now. The conduct of Russia, England, France and Germany, within the last two years, shows they recognize the fact that Humboldt was a prophet and an inspired one.

DIG A CANAL

How can we reach the Eastern trade? How can we get our share of it? There is the problem we have to settle. I say you want first to build an isthmian canal right across the Isthmus down here at Panama. Make it neutral to all the world, if you please, in peace and war, but not neutral with a country that is at war with us. What effect will that canal have? It will bring New York City a day's sail nearer Shanghai than Liverpool will be, and Liverpool is a great deal nearer Shanghai to-day than New York is—thousands of miles nearer. Before the Suez Canal was built, we were as near the Orient as England, and after it was built we were from 3,000 to 5,000 miles further off than England was, and England has been reaping the benefit of it.

COMPETING IN EAST

Her commerce increased from 40 per cent. up to the time that canal was opened to 88 per cent. to the Orient, and only 17 per cent. to the rest of the world. That shows what shortening of distance and lowering of freights does for commerce. I say that canal will bring New York a day's sail nearer to Shanghai than Liverpool will be. It will bring New York 1,200 miles nearer the northern ports of China, where our trade is to-day, and where it must be largely in the future. It will bring New York 2,000 miles nearer Corea; it will bring New York 1,800 miles nearer Yokohama; it will bring New York 1,000 miles nearer Melbourne; it will bring

New York 1,800 miles nearer Sydney; it will bring New York more than 2,000 miles nearer New Zealand; it will bring New York 3,000 to 4,000 miles nearer to the west coast of South America.

Look at your map to-day and you will find that the course from New York to the west coast of South America is not absolutely straight. Now is there an intelligent man here who cannot see that in the enormous decrease of distance the great lowering of freight rates is going to enable us to compete with England in the Orient, or with Germany, or with any other nation in Europe?

NEW POSSESSIONS WILL HELP COMMERCE

Our recently acquired possessions are an enormous lift for us in this contest for the commerce of the East and for commerce generally. Under that treaty we acquired not the sovereignty of Cuba, because we yield the sovereignty of that island to any stable government that may be formed there, which is capable of preserving order, protecting life and liberty of its inhabitants, making treaties and insisting upon their rights under the treaties, and observing their obligations.

But to whom will the people of the Island of Cuba owe relief from that despotic power of Spain which has ground her into the dust for the last 200 years? To whom will they owe their release from hunger and starvation and death? To whom will they owe their relief from the most ingenious and outrageous taxation that was ever imposed upon a people? Why, to us. Will they not, through gratitude and propinquity, give us the trade of that beautiful island? You let a stable government be formed. Let peace settle on the island once more. Let American capital go there, as it will, and the trade and commerce of that island will quadruple in two years, and it will be ours. Porto Rico is ours. Her trade is ours and will be ours.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Presidential Administrations of the Century

Personal Characteristics—Origin of Political Parties—Leading Events of each Administration—Information Necessary to Understand Questions of To-day.

WHEN the office of President was to be filled for the first time, grave problems were to be solved. The hardship and suffering of the struggle for independence were yet present in the minds of all men; the weakness and failure of the Government instituted by the Articles of Confederation had compelled an attempt "to form a more perfect Union;" the eyes of the civilized world were upon the struggling people, and to men who had not an abiding faith in the principles for which the battles of the Revolution had been fought, it seemed that the experiment of popular government was to end in early, complete, and appropriate catastrophe.

In such circumstances, it was well that the public needs were so great and so immediate as to make men willing to forget their differences and consider measures for the common good; and particularly was it well for the future of our country that there was one man upon whom all could agree as uniting the wisdom, the moderation, the experience, the dignity necessary to the first President of the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1732-1799. TWO TERMS, 1789-1797

George Washington was the only man ever unanimously elected President. He undertook the duties of the Chief Magistracy with a deep sense of their importance and their difficulty,

but with the courage and devotion which characterized all his conduct. He selected for his Cabinet men of widely different political views, but men whose names were not new to Americans, men whose past services justified the belief that they would find means of leading the country out of its present difficulties, and of setting the affairs of the Government on a sure foundation. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox and Randolph might well be trusted to concert wise measures.

Washington's second election was, like the first, without opposition, and for four years more he continued to guide the affairs of State. A national bank had been established early in his first term, and also the Philadelphia Mint, and the currency of the country was now on a fairly satisfactory basis; a census had been taken in 1790 and showed that the country had already begun to grow in population, and the outlook was much more favorable than four years earlier.

JOHN ADAMS, 1735-1826. ONE TERM, 1797-1801

Upon the announcement of Washington's retirement, the two parties, which had been gradually developing an organization, prepared to contest the election of the second President. The Federalists, who advocated a strong central government, favored John Adams, and the Republicans, who "claimed to be the friends of liberty and the rights of man, the advocates of economy, and of the rights of the states," desired the election of Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists were in a slight majority, and Mr. Adams was elected. He was a native of Massachusetts, and had borne a leading part in the struggle for independence and the development of the government. He was one of the leaders in Massachusetts in resisting the oppressive measures which brought on the Revolution; he seconded the resolution for the Declaration of Independence, and assisted in framing that remarkable document; with Franklin and Jay, he negotiated the treaty which established our independence; he had represented his country as Minister to France, and to Holland, and was the first United States Minister to England; he had

been Vice-President during Washington's two administrations, and was now to assume office as the second President.

His Presidency opened with every prospect of war with the French. That nation had taken offence because we preserved an attitude of neutrality in their contest with Great Britain. They actually began war by capturing our merchant ships, and the French Directory refused to receive the new United States Minister, while three commissioners, who were sent to make one more effort for peace, were insulted. Under the influence of the war spirit thus excited, the Federalists in Congress passed two acts, known as the Alien and Sedition Laws, which resulted in the downfall of their party. The former gave the President authority to order out of the country any alien whom he considered dangerous to its welfare, and the latter was intended to suppress conspiracies and malicious abuse of the Government. They excited great opposition and were almost immediately repealed. The war had already been terminated on the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1826. TWO TERMS, 1801-1809

Mr. Adams failed of re-election, largely because of the division of sentiment in regard to the French war. His great patriotism, high moral courage, and his ability as a statesman, were somewhat marred by a strange lack of tact, and a stupendous vanity, which sometimes made him ridiculous, but his countrymen could well afford to forget such minor faults, and remember only his manifold services in their common cause. He was succeeded by a man no less great. Thomas Jefferson was the son of a Virginia planter, received his education at William and Mary College, studied law and engaged in its practice. He resolved on entering public life, never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of his fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. When he came to the Presidency his country already owed him much. As a member of the Continental Congress he wrote the draft of the Declaration of Independence; returning

to Virginia, he inaugurated a reformed system of laws in that state, and becoming its Governor, rendered invaluable aid to the army during the closing years of the Revolution ; he shared with Gouverneur Morris the credit of devising our decimal system of money ; he succeeded Franklin as Minister to France, and on his return from that post, was informed that Washington had chosen him for the first Secretary of State. He wished to decline further public service, but "It is not for an individual," said he to the President, "to choose his post ; you are to marshal us as may be best for the public good." A difference of three electoral votes made Adams President and Jefferson Vice-President, but in 1800 a political revolution reversed the majority and made him the third President. Although a leader of a party, he exerted himself to allay partisan rancor, and he resolutely refused to make official positions for his political friends by removing from office men whose only offence was a difference of political opinion.

Jefferson was re-elected by a largely increased majority. During his administration, the territory of Louisiana was purchased from France ; the famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke set out to explore this new domain ; the importation of slaves was forbidden ; the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers were suppressed ; the first steamboat began to navigate the Hudson, and the growing troubles with Great Britain and France caused the enactment of laws called the Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, intended, by cutting off our commerce with those countries, to compel them to respect our neutrality. These two measures resulted in little but failure, as they caused great distress at home, and were repealed before they could have much effect abroad.

JAMES MADISON, 1751-1836. TWO TERMS 1809-1817.

When James Madison came to be the fourth President, he found the difficulties with England and France still unsettled. These countries being ancient enemies and being almost continually at war, it was almost impossible to be on friendly terms with one without making an enemy of the other ; neither would respect our

rights as a neutral nation ; each was in the habit of seizing and selling our ships and cargoes bound for the ports of the other, and England, in addition, assumed the right to search our vessels, examine their crews, and compel to enter her service any sailor who had been an English subject. These troubles were not new. Jay's treaty, in 1795, had vainly attempted to adjust a part of them, and as our country grew in strength, it gradually became impossible for the people longer to submit.

The War of 1812, the "Second War for Independence," occupied most of Madison's administration, and though not vigorously conducted, it demonstrated the military and naval resources of the country and caused the American flag to be respected all over the world ; and by cutting off the supply of foreign goods, it compelled the starting of cotton and woolen mills in this country, and this resulted in the building up of home manufactures.

The Presidency of Mr. Madison is not the portion of his career upon which his fame rests ; his best services to his country were in his work as a constructive statesman. In the shaping of the Constitution and in securing its adoption he shared with Hamilton the chief honors. He was, doubtless, happy when, at the close of his second administration, he could retire to his Virginia estate and spend the remaining twenty years of his life in scholarly ease.

JAMES MONROE, 1758-1831. TWO TERMS, 1817-1825

Madison was succeeded by another Virginian, a gallant soldier of the Revolution, who had laid down his books at William and Mary College to complete his education in the Continental army. James Monroe was eighteen years old when he took part in the battle of Trenton, and his record justified the confidence with which his countrymen universally regarded him. In his inaugural address he took as a symbol of the enduring character of the Union, the foundation of the Capitol, near which he stood to deliver the address and which had survived the ruins of the beautiful building recently burnt by the British.

So popular was President Monroe, and so wisely did he administer the affairs of state, that on his re-election there was no opposing candidate and he lacked but one of a unanimous vote in the electoral college. This vote was cast for John Quincy Adams, simply in order "that no later mortal should stand in Washington's shoes" in being unanimously elected. Monroe's two terms comprise an eventful period in our history; the government pensioned its Revolutionary soldiers and their widows, spending in all \$65,000,000 in this noble work; Florida was purchased from Spain; the National Road was begun at Cumberland, Md., finally to extend as far as Illinois, and to be of inestimable service in the opening and development of the West; but the subject which took the deepest hold upon the minds of the people was that of the extension of slavery. Following the "Era of Good Feeling" ushered in by Monroe's administration, came a serious division in public feeling as to whether slavery should be permitted in the northern part of the territory west of the Mississippi. The question arose so suddenly and was so fiercely debated, that Jefferson declared that it terrified him, "like a fire-bell in the night," and he feared serious trouble between the states, the actual outbreak of which was postponed, by a series of compromises, for a period of forty years. Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise quieted the quarrel for some twenty-five years.

MONROE DOCTRINE

President Monroe is perhaps most widely renowned as the author of the "Monroe Doctrine"—that no European nation has a right to interfere with the affairs of any American state—a doctrine to which our government has steadily adhered. It is interesting to note that the man who had served his country so well in the high position of its chief magistrate was willing, after the close of his second term, to accept so humble a post as that of Justice of the Peace, and so continue a public servant; but it is sad to relate that Mr. Monroe's great generosity and public spirit left him, in his old age, embarrassed by debt, and necessitated the giving up of his resi-

dence at Oak Hill, in Virginia, to end his days in the home of a son-in-law, in New York.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1767-1848. ONE TERM, 1825-1829

The "Era of Good Feeling" had left no organized national parties in politics, and there were four candidates voted for to succeed Monroe. This resulted in there being no majority in the electoral college, and the final choice was therefore made by the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams thus becoming the sixth President. He was, perhaps, as well equipped for the position, at least in breadth of information, knowledge of statecraft, and experience in political affairs, as any man who has ever filled it. At the age of fifteen he was secretary to the Minister to Russia; after graduating at Harvard, and practicing law for a few years, he became United States Minister at the Hague, and afterwards at Berlin, St. Petersburg and London; he had represented Massachusetts in the national Senate, and during the presidency of Mr. Monroe he had been Secretary of State. His administration was not marked by any measure of national importance, but is notable as the era in which a number of projects for the promotion of commercial intercourse met with the success they deserved.

We have already mentioned the National Road. It was no more important than the Erie Canal, "Clinton's Big Ditch," as it was derisively called, which was opened in 1825; and the experiments with "steam wagons" resulted, in 1828, in the opening of a line of railroad which now forms part of the Baltimore and Ohio system. The first spadeful of earth was turned by the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the only survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who remarked, in so doing, that he considered this among the most important acts of his life, "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second to that."

It is also to be noted that this era marks the beginning of that social movement which in less than seventy years has resulted in

so marked a change in the views of Americans regarding the use of intoxicants.

ANDREW JACKSON, 1767-1845. TWO TERMS, 1829-1837

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was the first who was not a citizen either of Massachusetts or Virginia. He was also the first who was not already known to his countrymen as a distinguished statesman. He was exceedingly popular, however, owing to his military services and to his energetic, honest and fearless, though headstrong character. He had led a strange and eventful life. In his boyhood he had known all the hardships and privations of absolute poverty; at the age of fourteen he was a prisoner of war, and nearly starved by his British captors. He studied law and emigrated from North Carolina to Tennessee. After that territory became a state he represented it in Congress, and for a short time in the senate. He was continually involved in quarrels, fought several duels, and made many bitter enemies as well as many warm friends. His success in leading the Tennessee militia against the Indians gained for him the reputation which caused his appointment to command in the Southwest near the close of the war of 1812, and his brilliant defence of New Orleans gave "Old Hickory" a place in the hearts of his countrymen, which resulted in their electing him to succeed John Quincy Adams as President, and his ability and integrity were so manifest that he was re-elected in 1832 by the electoral votes of all the states except seven.

AN INTERESTING PERIOD

No period of our history is more interesting than the eight years of Jackson's administration. He was the first President to dismiss large numbers of officials in order to replace them by his own partisans. The anti-slavery movement took definite shape during this time, and William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of the famous *Liberator*, and American literature had its beginnings.

At this time came the first serious danger of a rupture between the states. It grew out of the tariff legislation, which South

Carolina, under the lead of John C. Calhoun, undertook to nullify. The payment of the duties was refused, but the President sent General Scott to Charleston to enforce the law, and under the advice of Henry Clay a new and more satisfactory tariff was adopted. This difficulty and Jackson's determined opposition to the United States Bank, his fight against it, resulting in its destruction, are the events of this administration, which produced the most marked and lasting effect upon our national history. After the close of his second term he lived in retirement at his home, the famous "Hermitage," near Nashville, until his death, eight years later.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1782-1862. ONE TERM, 1837-1841

Martin Van Buren had hardly entered upon the duties of the Presidency when the great panic of 1837 occurred. It resulted from a variety of causes, among which may be mentioned the great number of worthless banks which sprang up after the discontinuance of the United States Bank; the prevalence of wild speculation, particularly in land, and the action of the government in demanding that the banks should repay their deposits in coin. One good effect of this great public calamity was the establishment of a Treasury of the United States, independent of any bank or system of banks.

It was during this administration that the Mormons formed their settlement in Nauvoo, Illinois, and in 1840 a regular line of steamships was established between Liverpool and Boston.

Mr. Van Buren was a native of New York, had served his state in various offices of trust, including that of Governor; had been its representative in the United States Senate; had been Minister to England, Secretary of State during most of Jackson's first administration, and Vice-President during his second. He continued, for several years after the close of his term as President, to take an active part in politics, and in 1848 he was the candidate of the anti-slavery Democrats, or "Free Democracy," for President, after which he took no part in public affairs, though he lived at his

native place, in Columbia county, New York, until nearly the middle of the war of the Rebellion.

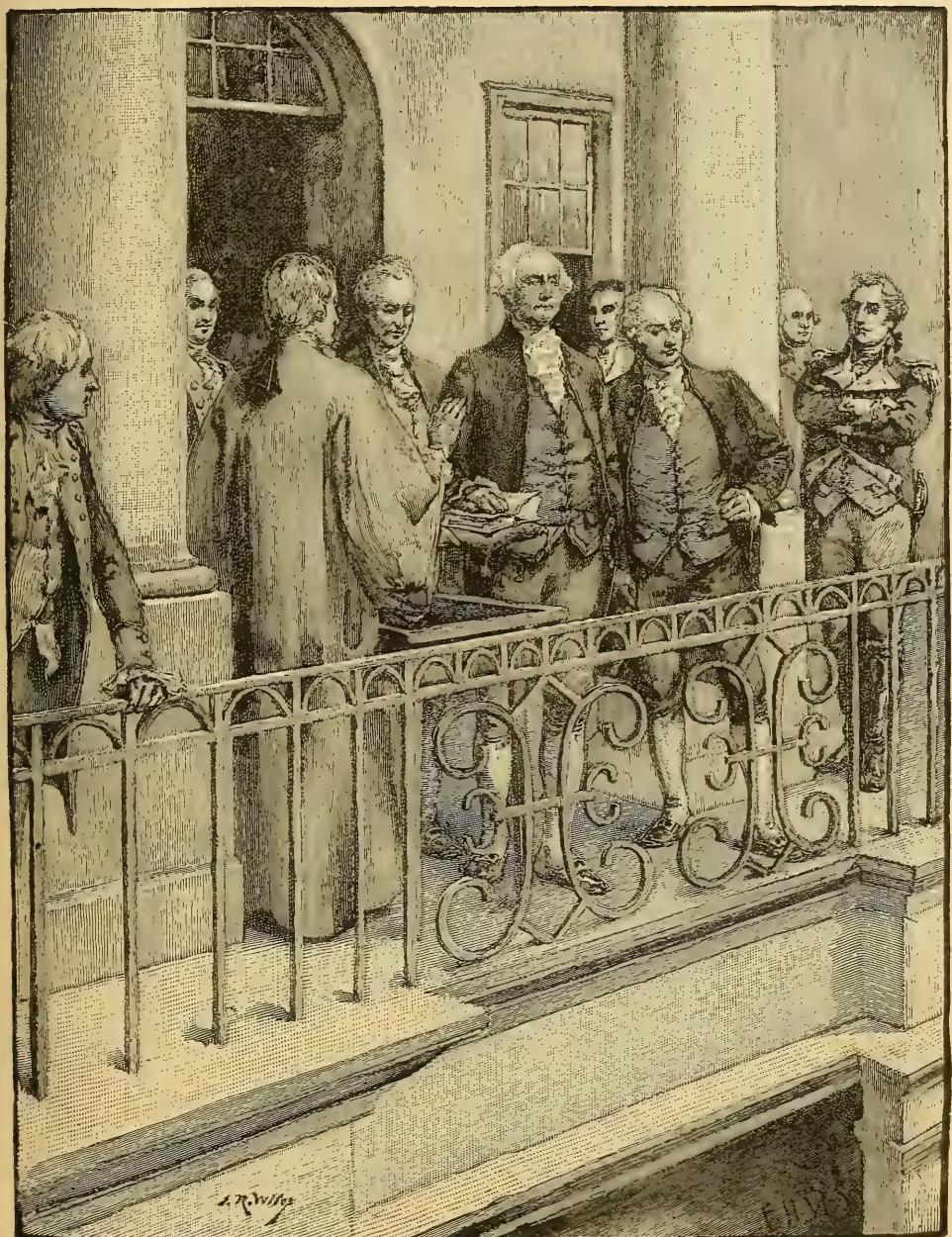
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, 1773-1841. ONE MONTH, 1841

For forty years the Democrats had retained control of the National Government, but the administration of Van Buren had not been popular, and the change in public sentiment was so great that in the election of 1840 he was defeated by General William Henry Harrison, who had been the unsuccessful candidate four years before. The political campaign was the most exciting that had yet occurred ; the enthusiasm for the Whig candidate was very great, and the "Log-cabin and Hard-cider" campaign will be long remembered.

The character of the successful candidate justified high expectations of his administration. Left at an early age to depend upon himself, he had entered the army and won distinction under General Wayne, in the Indian wars ; he had been long identified with the development of what are now Indiana and Ohio ; had represented Ohio in the United States Senate, and filled several other offices of more or less note, and was living, when elected, on his farm, not far from Cincinnati. He made a judicious selection of cabinet officers, but within a month after his inauguration, and before any definite line of policy had been established, he died, after a very brief illness, probably caused by the fatigue and excitement of his inauguration.

JOHN TYLER, 1790-1862. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1841-1845

John Tyler was the first Vice-President of the United States to become President. He had been made the Whig candidate largely from motives of policy, as he had been an active Democrat, and as a member of that party had been elected Governor of Virginia, and had represented that state in the United States Senate. He had, however, been opposed to both Jackson and Van Buren, and had for some time been acting with the Whigs. He soon quarreled, however, with the Whig Congress, the subject of contention being the proposed revival of the United States



BARON STEUBEN. GOV. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR. SEC'Y SAMUEL A. OTIS. ROGER SHERMAN. GOV. GEORGE CLINTON.
CHANCELLOR ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON. GEORGE WASHINGTON. GEN'L HENRY KNOX.

INAUGURATION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT.
WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH, APRIL 30, 1789, ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT
TREASURY BUILDING, WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

ANDREW JACKSON.
(1765-1845.) TWO TERMS, 1829-1837.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.
(1743-1826.) TWO TERMS, 1801-1809.



Bank. This quarrel continued throughout the presidential term, to the great hindrance of public business. Two events which marked a new era, the one in our methods of communication, the other in the relief of human suffering, took place during this time; they were the invention of the electric telegraph, and the use of ether in surgery. The events of greatest political importance were the settlement, by the Ashburton treaty, of a troublesome dispute with Great Britain, concerning the northeastern boundary of the United States, and, just at the close of Tyler's administration, the annexation of Texas. The latter was a step which had for some time been under discussion, it being advocated by the South as a pro-slavery measure, and opposed by the anti-slavery party. Texas had made itself independent of Mexico, and asked to be annexed to the United States, a request which was thus finally granted. Mr. Tyler returned to private life at the close of his presidential term, and took little part in public affairs until the breaking out of the Civil War. At the time of his death he was a member of the Confederate Congress.

JAMES KNOX POLK, 1795-1849. ONE TERM, 1845-1849

The Democrats were again successful in 1844, and on March 4, 1845, James K. Polk became the eleventh President. He was a native of North Carolina, but in boyhood had removed with his father to Tennessee. He was well educated, and was unusually successful in his profession of the law. He was for fourteen years a member of Congress and was Speaker of the House for five consecutive sessions. On his declining a re-election to Congress he was made Governor of Tennessee, and as a candidate for the Presidency in 1844 was successful in uniting the warring factions of the Democrats. He came to the Presidency at a critical time. The annexation of Texas had involved the country in difficulties with Mexico, and the question of the northern boundary west of the Rocky Mountains threatened to interrupt the cordial relations between the United States and England. The latter question was settled by accepting the parallel of forty-nine degrees of north latitude, thus

making the boundary continuous with that east of the mountains, but the trouble with Mexico culminated in war, which resulted, in less than two years, in the complete conquest of that country. California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States on the payment of \$15,000,000 and the assumption of certain debts of Mexico. It was just at this time that gold was discovered in California, and the wonderful emigration to that territory began. Mr. Polk survived his presidential term only some three months.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, 1784-1850. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1849-1850

The pendulum of popular favor had again swung over to the side of the Whigs, and their candidate was elected the twelfth President. General Zachary Taylor had grown up amid the privations and difficulties of frontier life in Kentucky. By the influence of Madison, the then Secretary of State, who was a relative of the family, he received an appointment as lieutenant in the United States Army, and served with great distinction in the Indian wars which then harassed our frontiers. At the time of the annexation of Texas he was in command of the army in the Southwest, with the rank of Brigadier-General. His management of affairs during the time which preceded the Mexican War was marked by great discretion, and his brilliant conduct of the opening campaign brought him great popularity and led to his nomination for the Presidency by the Whigs, to the great chagrin of some of the leaders of the party who saw in his success the disappointment of their own ambition, and who distrusted a candidate who had no experience in legislative or executive affairs. This distrust, however, has not been shared by the majority of the people, either in the case of General Taylor or of other presidential candidates of purely military renown, and such a candidate has usually been sure of success.

The question of the extention of slavery was again being fiercely agitated, and seemed once more likely to disrupt the country. General Taylor lived only some sixteen months after his

inauguration, dying before the heat of the debate in Congress had abated.

MILLARD FILLMORE, 1800-1874. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1850-1853

The Vice-President, who, by the death of General Taylor, came to be the Chief Magistrate of the country, was Millard Fillmore, of New York. He was an admirable type of the American citizen, owing this high position to his own attainments, and to his own unaided exertions. He received no pecuniary assistance after his fourteenth year, except a small loan, which he punctually repaid. With exceedingly little previous education, he began, at the age of nineteen, the study of law, which he prosecuted under the most adverse circumstances, but so successfully as to place him in the front rank of the lawyers of the State of New York. He was for several terms a member of the lower House of Congress, where he distinguished himself as a wise, prudent, honest legislator. He was Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means which framed the tariff of 1842, and although he claimed no originality for the principles on which it was based, he is justly entitled to be considered its author.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

His presidential term is chiefly remembered by the debate in Congress on the extent of slavery in the territory gained by the Mexican War, resulting in the adoption of the compromise measures proposed by Henry Clay, including the Fugitive Slave Law. This law, which gave the owners of runaway slaves the right to call on all citizens to assist in arresting and restoring them to their owners, was exceedingly unpopular in the North, and did much to prevent Mr. Fillmore's renomination, and to increase anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

Mrs. Stowe's famous story, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was published in 1852, and had a great influence in hastening the impending conflict. At the close of his term Mr. Fillmore retired to Buffalo, where he resided until his death, in 1874.

Soon was heard the thunderous attacks of the abolitionists and a whisper of the opening of the "underground railroad" for escaping slaves. The work of the "Great Pacifier" Henry Clay and the measures he proposed seemed soon about to be lost in bitter and bloody strife of civil war.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1804-1868. ONE TERM, 1853-1857

Again the Whigs were retired from control of the National Government and a Democratic President elected. Franklin Pierce had been a life-long resident of New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, was widely known as an able and successful lawyer, and though his name was not especially connected with any great measure, he had represented his state in both Houses of Congress. He expressed in his inaugural address the belief that all questions concerning slavery should be considered settled by the compromise measures of 1850, and the hope that "no sectional, or ambitious, or fanatical excitement might again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity."

CRYSTAL PALACE

Among the notable events of his administration may be mentioned the international exhibition in the "Crystal Palace," in New York, in 1853, in which the pre-eminence of Americans in the invention of labor-saving machinery was manifested; the expedition of Commodore Perry to Japan, which resulted in opening to American commerce the ports of that interesting country, which no foreigners had previously been allowed to enter; and the adjustment of a dispute with Mexico concerning the western portion of the boundary between the two countries, resulting in the purchase by the United States of a considerable district, included in the present territories of Arizona and New Mexico. But the facts which chiefly characterize this administration concern the irrepressible conflict about slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise, and made the question of slavery in all the territories optional with the people of the territories, as had been done by the Compromise of 1850 for the territory acquired from Mexico. The

passage of this law led to much ill-feeling, and to great efforts by both Northern abolitionists and Southern slaveholders to encourage the emigration of their sympathizers to Kansas, in order to govern the decision in regard to slavery. The strife of these opposing parties became so serious as to result in much bloodshed, and from 1854 to 1859 that territory deserved the name of the "Bleeding Kansas," and during much of that time it was in a state of civil war.

JAMES BUCHANAN, 1791-1868. ONE TERM, 1857-1861

Mr. Pierce took no prominent part in public affairs after his retirement for the Presidency. The Whig party had now finally disappeared, and in the election of 1856 the Democrats were once more successful. James Buchanan was a Pennsylvania lawyer, a graduate of Dickinson College, and so prominent in his profession that his name appears in the *Pennsylvania Reports*, between 1812 and 1831, more frequently than that of any other lawyer. He had served ten years in Congress, had represented his country as Minister to Russia and to England, and as Secretary of State under President Polk had been called upon to adjust questions of the gravest and most delicate character.

DRED SCOTT DECISION

At the opening of his administration the public strife was greatly allayed by the general confidence in the ability and the high patriotism of the President; but the announcement of the "Dred Scott Decision," which had been deferred so as not to give new cause for excitement during a presidential campaign, stirred the nation to a degree before unknown. This decision declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, and therefore void, that Congress has no right to forbid the carrying of slaves into any state or territory, and opened all the free states to at least a temporary establishment of slavery. This was the beginning of the end of the contest. The attempt of John Brown, a citizen of Kansas, with about twenty men, to liberate the slaves in Virginia, their seizure of the Govern-

ment buildings at Harper's Ferry, their capture, and the hanging of the leader, with six of his men, only hastened the final conflict.

PANIC OF 1857

A great business panic occurred in 1857, and the discovery of silver in Nevada and Colorado the following year; the no less important discovery of petroleum and natural gas in Pennsylvania occurred in 1859.

After the Presidential election of 1860 it became evident that the South would not quietly submit to the defeat which they had received, and South Carolina, followed by six other Southern States, adopted "ordinances of secession," assuming to dissolve their union with the other States, and declaring themselves free and independent nations. The President took no action to prevent secession, and most of the forts, arsenals, and other national property within these States were seized. Mr. Buchanan retired to private life at the close of his term as President.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809-1865. TWO TERMS (DIED IN OFFICE) 1861-1865

Of all the men since Washington who have been President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln holds the largest share in the affections of the people. His lowly origin, his early poverty and privation, the never-failing kindness with which throughout his life he met all classes of men, and the homely and genial wit which enlivened his discussion of grave matters of State as well as his casual and friendly conversation, gave him a place in the hearts of the common people not held by any other American, while his unequalled knowledge of men, his ability to cope with unforeseen difficulties, his lofty purpose and perfect honesty, together with his practical good sense, not only brought him the respect and esteem of all who came to know him, but place him among the greatest statesmen, not of America alone, but of all countries in all times.

Born and reared in the backwoods, with nothing in his surroundings to stimulate ambition, chopping wood and splitting rails,

learning to read from the spelling-book and the Bible, sitting up half the night to read Pilgrim's Progress and Æsop's Fables "by the blaze of the logs his own ax had split," he came to manhood with little education, but with perfect health and gigantic strength. At the age of twenty-five he took up the study of law, and early began to take part in the local political movements. He had represented his district in Congress, but at the time of his nomination for President had little reputation outside of Illinois.

THE CIVIL WAR

He came to the Presidency amid a multitude of adverse circumstances. With seven States already seceded, the border States apparently ready to follow, with the capital surrounded by a hostile population, and without the confidence of the leaders of his own party, his would indeed seem a difficult task. His first measures were intended to convince the people of the South, if they were willing to be convinced, that he had no hostile intention, but at the same time that he proposed to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Union, and to maintain the rights and the authority of the Government. The story of the War of the Rebellion cannot be told here. It is a story the like of which forms part of the history of no other nation—the story of a war engaging at one time 1,700,000 men, the war debt of the North, representing but a part of the cost of the war, amounting to \$3,000,000,000, and the expense frequently exceeding \$3,500,000 a day.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

Aside from the essential military features of the war, the most notable event of Mr. Lincoln's administration was the freeing of the slaves, which was done as a war measure, by the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863, thus finally, after the expiration of nearly a hundred years, making good in our country the words of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal."

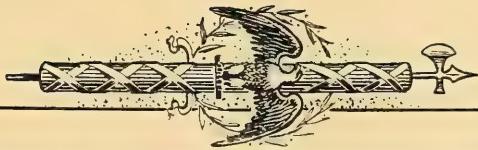
It can be truthfully said that President Lincoln carried the administration of the government in this troublous time, not only

as a load upon his brain, but as a burden in his heart ; a united country was the object of all his efforts, and when, only a month after his second inauguration, he was assassinated by a misguided and mistaken Southern sympathizer, the bullet of the murderer removed as true a friend as the South possessed. The war was already at an end, and had Abraham Lincoln lived to rebuild and reconstruct the Union he had saved, many of the difficulties of the era of reconstruction might have been avoided—difficulties whose evil effects have not yet disappeared from our national politics.

No fact in our history demonstrates more fully the perfection of our system of government and the hold which it has upon the confidence of our people than the quiet change of Chief Magistrates at the close of a presidential term. Four times in our history this change has been caused by death, and now, when the beloved President has been assassinated, when the whole country was excited and alarmed, when grave questions were pending and matters of the utmost delicacy required adjustment, the Vice-President quietly assumed the office, and the routine of government proceeded as before.

ANDREW JOHNSON, 1808–1875. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1865–1869

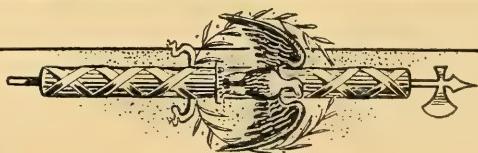
Andrew Johnson was a native of North Carolina. He was the son of poor parents, and learning the tailor's trade, he earned his living for a number of years as a journeyman. He taught himself to read, and after emigrating to Tennessee he learned from his wife to write and cipher. He represented his district for several terms in Congress, and was chosen United States Senator in 1857. He was nominated for Vice-President by the Republicans in 1864, mainly to invite votes from the opposite party, as until the war he had been a consistent Democrat. Unfortunately, he differed with the leading Republicans in Congress on the question of the manner in which the states lately in rebellion were to resume their places in the government, and the difference grew into a violent quarrel, which lasted till the close of his term, and resulted in 1868, in the impeachment of the President by Congress. He was



JAMES A. GARFIELD.
(1831-1881.) ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1881.



GROVER CLEVELAND,
(1837.) TWO TERMS, 1885-1889--1893-1897.





ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.
(1822-1885.) TWO TERMS, 1869-1877.



JAMES MONROE.
(1758-1831.) TWO TERMS, 1817-1825.

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acquitted, however, the vote in the Senate lacking one of the two-thirds necessary to convict. The chief political events of the administration were the re-admission of six of the seceded states and the adoption of three amendments to the Constitution—the Thirteenth, abolishing slavery; the Fourteenth, making the negro a citizen, and the Fifteenth giving him the right to vote.

During this time, also, the government began the payment of the war debt, the first Atlantic cable was laid, and Alaska was added to our national domain.

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT, 1869-1877

The success which had attended the Union armies after they passed under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant made him the popular idol and obviously the most available candidate for President. He was a native of Ohio, a graduate of West Point, and had served in the Mexican War, where he was promoted for meritorious conduct in battle. At the opening of the civil war he raised a company of volunteers in Illinois, of which state he was then a citizen, was soon made a brigadier-general, and from that point the story of his life is a part of the history of the war.

General Grant was the recipient of honors from foreign rulers and governments such as have been bestowed upon no other American President. His fame as a general was recognized throughout the world, and although he had no experience in civil affairs, he had the tact to call into his Cabinet men of great ability, and while he may have been sometimes misled by designing men, his administration was so popular that he was re-elected by a greatly increased majority, and indeed might have been chosen for a third term, had not the public feeling been found so strongly opposed to violating the custom inaugurated by Washington of giving to no President more than two terms of office. During these two terms the first Pacific Railway was completed; representatives from all the remaining seceded states were admitted to Congress; a treaty was concluded with England providing for the arbitration of the Alabama and other claims, which seemed at one time likely to involve

the two countries in war ; the great fires in Chicago and Boston destroyed many millions of property; a panic of almost unprecedented severity occurred (1873), and the Centennial Exhibition took place at Philadelphia. After the close of his term as President, General Grant made a tour of the world, being everywhere received with the greatest honor, after which he resided in New York until attacked by the disease which ended his life on Mount McGregor, in 1885.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, 1822-1893. ONE TERM, 1877-1881

It has frequently happened that when several rival leaders of the same political party have been candidates for President, the Presidential Convention has found it wisest to nominate some less prominent man, thus avoiding the loss which might result from the choice of either of the more conspicuous aspirants for the office, and the consequent offence to the supporters of the others. This was the case when a successor to General Grant was to be chosen. While Rutherford B. Hayes had been a Brigadier-General in the Union army, and had twice been elected Governor of Ohio, he was by no means conspicuous as a national leader. There was great dissatisfaction with the course of the men who had obtained control of the political machinery of the Republican party, and the election depended on the counting of the electoral votes of Louisiana and Florida. To settle the legality of these votes, the famous Electoral Commission was appointed by Congress, and decided in favor of General Hayes as against his competitor, Samuel J. Tilden. The quiet and peaceful solution of this dispute is one of the greatest triumphs of our system of government. The Republican party had been in office for four Presidential terms, had successfully conducted the affairs of the nation during the trying and dangerous periods of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many of the measures which had been during this time adopted as a part of our system had been consistently and strenuously opposed by the Democrats. Under these circumstances the Republicans viewed the possible accession to power of the Democratic party with a degree of alarm, which has

since proved to be unjustifiable. Each party claimed, and probably believed, that its candidate had been elected, and each was disposed to insist on its rights under the Constitution. Such a dispute in a country where men's passions are less under the control of their reason, would inevitably have led to civil war. The two Houses of Congress were of different politics, and their agreement upon what seemed an equitable method of adjusting the dispute, together with the acquiescence of all parties in the decision of the tribunal thus created, make it a remarkable instance of the adaptability of our institutions, and go far to justify the most complete faith in their permanence. General Hayes was a successful lawyer, a life-long citizen of Ohio, and while his administration gave great offence to many political leaders, it was generally satisfactory to the people. At the close of his term he retired to his native state.

The chief events of his Presidency were: His withdrawal of troops from the South, thus leaving the people of that section to settle their own questions in their own way; the great railroad and coal strikes, during which United States troops had to be employed to suppress violence at Pittsburg, and the resumption of specie payments, in 1879.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, 1881-1881. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1881

The twentieth President was likewise a citizen of Ohio. The early life of James A. Garfield was somewhat similar to that of Abraham Lincoln. He had, however, the advantage of early contact with cultivated people, and while he at one time drove mules upon the tow-path of a canal, and paid for his tuition by acting as janitor of the school-house, he had opportunities for education of which he availed himself to the utmost, paying his own way through school and finally graduating at Williams College. At the opening of the war he entered the Union army, and was promoted for his services at the battle of Chickamauga to the rank of Major-General. He left the army to enter Congress, where he took a leading part, and was chosen Senator for Ohio, but before taking his seat was elected President. He surrounded himself with able advisers, and

high hopes were entertained of a notably successful administration, when he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, dying after two months of suffering, during which the public sympathy was excited to an extraordinary degree and was manifested in every possible way.

The single event for which the few months of his Presidency are remarkable is the quarrel between the President and Senator Conkling, of New York, as to some of the Federal appointments in that state. The Senator from New York resigned, and the difficulty was not adjusted at the time of the President's death.

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR, 1830-1886. ONE PARTIAL
TERM, 1881-1885

The Vice-President elected with Garfield was Chester A. Arthur, of New York. He was not widely known outside his own state before his nomination, and he was made the candidate in order to retain the favor of a large portion of the Republican party in New York, which had advocated the claims of another candidate, and it was feared would not otherwise assist in the election of Garfield.

Mr. Arthur had great experience as a political manager, but little knowledge of the manner in which the government is conducted; but he proved a careful, conscientious President, and the country was well satisfied with his administration. As he had been an adherent of the political faction with which President Garfield, at the time of his assassination, was at war, he was placed in an exceedingly delicate position, and grave fears were entertained by many people that backward steps would be taken; but the new President extricated himself from his difficulties with a dignity and a tact which astonished even those who knew him best, and which gained for him the respect of the entire country.

During the term of President Arthur, Congress passed the Civil Service Act, providing for the appointment of subordinate employees of the government on the basis of merit rather than that of political influence; the completion of the great East River Bridge united the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and the

immense growth and prosperity of the New South justified the brightest anticipations for the future of that section. Mr. Arthur died in New York a few months after the close of his term.

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND, 1837. FIRST TERM, 1885-1889.
SECOND TERM, 1893-1897

The Republican party had now held control of the Government for twenty-five years, and Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic President since Buchanan. Although a native of New Jersey, he had been since boyhood a citizen of New York. He began the study of law in Buffalo at the age of 18, and early took an active part in politics. Having filled several local offices, he was, in 1882, elected Governor of the State by a phenomenal majority, and in 1884 was the successful candidate for President.

The transfer of the Government from the hands of one political party to its opponent resulted in no disturbance to the business or social relations of the people, and although a large number of office-holders were replaced by men of the opposite political faith, the business of the government went on as before.

During Cleveland's administration laws were enacted providing for the succession to the Presidency of the various members of the Cabinet in case of the death or disability of the President and Vice-President; laying down rules for the counting of the electoral votes, thus supplying the strange deficiency of the Constitution in this respect; regulating inter-state commerce, and forbidding the immigration of Chinese laborers into this country. Events of great importance were the extended labor strikes, which occurred in 1886, and the Anarchist riot in Chicago in May of that year. Although his administration had been very satisfactory to the country at large, Mr. Cleveland failed of re-election, the principal question at issue being that of a protective tariff. He left Washington to take up the practice of law in New York city.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1833. ONE TERM, 1889-1893

Mr. Cleveland was succeeded by General Benjamin Harrison, who secured 233 electoral votes to 168 cast for Mr. Cleveland.

Mr. Harrison is the grandson of the ninth President, and the great-grandson of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He is a native of Ohio, is well educated, and was for many years one of the leading lawyers of Indiana. He entered the Union army in 1862, and was promoted until, near the close of the war, he reached the rank of Brigadier-General. He was made a United States Senator in 1880, and came to the Presidency well equipped for the discharge of its duties.

During his four years of service many events took place which have had great weight in moulding the future of the country. A Congress of the American Republics met in Washington, in 1889, and devised measures by which it is hoped to bring about a closer commercial union between the Americas; six new states were added to the Union; the tariff laws were revised and clauses added granting to such nations as offer us reciprocal advantages free admission for certain of their exports; the country is being rapidly furnished with a new and efficient navy; the long-standing difficulty with England concerning seal fishing in Behring Sea was adjusted by a treaty providing for arbitration, and annoying difficulties with Germany, Italy and Chili were happily settled.

REPUBLICAN LAND-SLIDE

The presidential campaign of 1892 was remarkable in several respects. The leading candidates, ex-President Cleveland and President Harrison, were both men of the highest character and integrity, each of whom had served the country with notable ability as President for a term of four years. The people were, therefore, so well acquainted with the candidates that personalities entered little into the campaign, and the canvass was conducted with less popular enthusiasm and excitement than ever before. The question most largely discussed was that of the McKinley tariff, but other important questions, such as the free coinage of silver and the revival of state banks, entered largely into the discussion, and had much to do with influencing the result, especially in the Western States, where party lines were very largely broken up. The result

of the election was almost a political revolution, ex-President Cleveland being elected by an overwhelming majority. The Populists also polled a very large vote.

The result of the election was generally accepted as meaning a condemnation of the McKinley tariff. For the first time in thirty years the Democratic party had full possession of all branches of the Government.

GROVER CLEVELAND, 1893-1897. PANIC OF 1893

In the spring and summer of 1893 the country experienced an unexpected and remarkable stringency in the money market, which was largely attributed to the operations of what is known as the Sherman law, by which the Government was compelled to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month. President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to meet early in August, for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the "Sherman Law." This appeared to bring some relief in the way of restoring confidence, but it did not come until the country had suffered greatly from the general depression of trade and the withdrawal of credits. The banks in New York, Philadelphia and Boston declined to pay large sums on the checks of their customers in currency, but insisted upon payments being accepted in Clearing House certificates. President Cleveland was very generally commended for his wise and patriotic action in dealing with the questions affecting the public interest during this critical period, though he met with serious opposition within his own party.

THE HAWAIIAN DIFFICULTY

One of the most unusual and important events of 1893 was the movement for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. Early in the year, by a successful revolution, without bloodshed, the native Queen, Lilioukalani, was overthrown and a provisional government established, the chief officers of which were Americans by birth or parentage. A proposition for annexation was made by them to the United States, and a treaty looking to that end was

negotiated under the administration of President Harrison, and sent to the Senate for ratification. On President Cleveland's accession to office in March, he withdrew the treaty, and sent Hon. James H. Blount as commissioner to Hawaii to make further investigation. After some months Mr. Blount made a report, stating that the Hawaiian revolution had been accomplished by the active aid of the American minister, who had used American war vessels and troops for that purpose. The President thereupon made a demand upon the provisional government that the Queen should be restored, and in a special message to Congress urged that view. The provisional government of Hawaii, however, declined to comply, and Congress took no measures to restore the monarchy. The affair occasioned intense feeling in the United States, public opinion in regard to annexation and the policy of the President being sharply divided.

CHINA AND JAPAN

During the war between China and Japan, in 1894, President Cleveland had a conspicuous opportunity to show the world the great advantage this country enjoys as a mediator between other belligerent nations, owing to our well-known policy of avoiding foreign entanglements.

CONFLICT BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL

In July, 1894, occurred the most tremendous conflict between capital and labor that has ever taken place in this country. The American Railway Union, a labor organization of railway employees, ordered a general strike on all railroads running Pullman cars. For two weeks traffic was almost at a standstill, and a reign of terror existed in Chicago, and also in parts of California and other States of the West. The railroad tracks entering Chicago were besieged by a violent mob; cars were derailed and burned, switches torn up, miles of loaded freight cars set on fire, and every means employed to stop completely the movement of trains. President Cleveland finally sent troops of the regular army to Chicago, and the riot was soon quelled. In December, 1894,

Eugene V. Debs and other leaders of the strike were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

ANOTHER POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The autumn of 1894 brought a political revolution even greater than that of 1892—the Republicans being nearly everywhere victorious. The universal depression of business, and the failure of Congress to deal with the tariff and financial measures, created a great revulsion of feeling against the Democrats, who were overwhelmingly defeated in nearly every State of the Union. The extent of the revolution is shown by the fact that while the House of Representatives elected in 1892 contained 219 Democrats and 127 Republicans, the House elected in 1894 contained 104 Democrats and 246 Republicans.

The Presidential nominations of 1896 showed that the President did not have the full support of his party. His administration was not endorsed except by the gold wing, which held a convention at Indianapolis.

William McKinley was inaugurated March 4th, 1897, having Congress in both branches of the same political faith as himself. The Senate of the 55th Congress stood Democrats 34, Republicans 46, Independents and Populists, 10. The House, Democrats 134, Republicans 206, Independents and Populists 16. In the 56th Congress it, stood, Senate Democrats 26, Republicans 55, Independents 9. In the House, Democrats 163, Republicans 185, Independents 9. The chief events of his administration are set forth in full in another chapter.

The twenty-four men who have filled the presidential chair have been varied in ability; they have represented all classes of our American people and widely different schools of political thought, but in the century of their aggregate terms no country of the world has had better men as chief executives.

CHAPTER XIV.

The People's Party—Their Candidates and Platforms

THE People's Party, on May 10, 1900, held two conventions to nominate Presidential candidates, and to adopt platforms embodying principles on which the campaign is to be fought.

The convention held at Sioux Falls, S. D., represented that portion of the party which favored the nomination of William Jennings Bryan, for President, with the expectation that he would also be the candidate of the Democratic Party.

The convention which met on the same day, at Cincinnati, Ohio, favored a separate and distinct party ticket, and a platform of principles embodying the distinctive views held by that portion of the party, commonly designated as the "middle of the road" party.

THE POPULIST NATIONAL CONVENTION, AT SIOUX FALL

The Populist National Convention, at Sioux Falls, S. D., was called to order May 10, 1900, 9.45 A. M., by temporary chairman, Ringdal:

The Committee on Credentials presented its report, declaring that there were no contesting delegations, and recommending that the vote of Missouri be increased by two votes, that of Ohio by two votes, and that of South Dakota by three votes. The report was adopted.

The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the name of Thomas M. Patterson, of Colorado, for Permanent Chairman; T. H. Curran, of Kansas; Leo Vincent, of Colorado, and E. M. Deisher, as Permanent Secretaries. Mr. Patterson's name was

greeted with great applause, which expanded into vociferous cheers as he came to the front of the platform.

After Chairman Patterson's speech and the adoption of an order of business, a recess was taken until afternoon. In the meantime the Chairman of the State delegations met and tried without success to agree on some plan of action in reference to the Vice Presidential nomination.

At the afternoon session, which began at 2.10 P. M., Chairman Patterson called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions, but that committee was not ready, and a long delay ensued. A number of short speeches were made to entertain the Convention while the report was being waited for.

The Committee on Resolutions then reported, and, at the conclusion of the reading, Jerry Simpson moved that the platform be adopted as read, and the committee discharged. The motion received half a dozen seconds. A standing vote was called for, and amid great cheering every delegate in the tent arose.

ALLEN TO THE FRONT

"The platform is adopted by unanimous vote," said Chairman Patterson. "The next thing before the Convention," said he "is the presentation of the names of candidates for the nomination for the office of President of the United States." Then without pausing or calling for any call of States he went on:—

"I have the pleasure of introducing Senator Allen, of Nebraska."

This could mean but one man, and that was Bryan, and before Senator Allen could come to the front of the platform the Convention was on its feet cheering frantically, waving flags, hats, and handkerchiefs. The speech of Senator Allen was brief and to the point. Referring to William J. Bryan, he spoke as follows:—

"He embodies in his political convictions, in his life, all that is good in an American citizen, all that is pure and loyal, all that the most exacting could desire, a statesman of ripe experience, a philosopher, a patriot without a peer on this

or any other continent. Peerless, bold, determined, thoroughly united to the interests of the great mass of his countrymen, who would make and will make an ideal candidate for the exalted office of President of these United States.

"HAS BEEN BUT ONE NAME"

"Since the result of the election, in 1896, was known to the American people among the fusion forces of the United States, there has been but one name connected with the office and with the nomination at this time. He is the embodiment of all that opposes plutocracy, that opposes greed, that opposes the exercise of criminal power in public life. He is, in my judgment, the most American citizen of the age. I think he is as an orator, as a statesman, the equal of Webster and Clay, if not their superior. He was a Nebraskan, but belongs now to the world. Without further discussion, without further description of this magnificent man, I present to this Convention, this hero, statesman and orator, William Jennings Bryan."

The announcement of Mr. Bryan's name was the signal for another enthusiastic outburst. The Minnesota delegation hoisted a large star having the portrait of Mr. Bryan in the center, and the Convention cheered again, more vigorously than before.

When his voice could be heard Chairman Patterson announced : "I have the pleasure to introduce General James B. Weaver, of Iowa."

Another round of cheers rang out as the veteran from Iowa came forward to second the nomination of Mr. Bryan.

Jerry Simpson was then announced amid more cheers. Mr. Bryan, he declared, represented the struggle for human rights and he wanted the Populists to do all in their power to elect him. G. F. Washburn, of Massachusetts, then added his eulogy.

J. H. Davis, of Texas, Senator Butler, of North Carolina, and W. J. Thomas, of Colorado, made brief second speeches, and Mr. Olds, of Pennsylvania, 86 years old, was introduced.

Mr. Olds, bent and white bearded, said that he had walked 1,000 miles to vote for Henry Clay in 1844. "I came 1,000 miles to vote for William Jennings Bryan in this convention," said Mr. Olds, "and I hope you will not allow me to be defeated as I was in 1844."

Cries of "We won't" greeted Mr. Olds as he sat down. Senator Allen, of Nebraska, then stepped forward.

A TERRIBLE DIN FOLLOWED

"Mr. Chairman," said he, mid perfect silence, "I move that the rules of this convention be suspended and that William Jennings Bryan be nominated by acclamation for President of the United States."

Amid the din that followed Senator Allen's motion and its seconding, the speaker's voice was faintly heard calling on those delegates who favored the motion to rise and remain standing.

As one man the convention arose, cheering for Bryan.

"I propose three cheers for William Jennings Bryan," cried George F. Washburn, of Massachusetts. They were given and the convention quieted down.

"I announce the nomination by a unanimous vote, of William Jennings Bryan for President of the United States," said Chairman Patterson, as soon as he could be heard.

Another cheer greeted this announcement, and then the delegates settled in their seats for the fight over the Vice-Presidential nomination.

"The next thing on the program," said Chairman Patterson "is according to the rules adopted, to take action regarding the nomination of a Vice-President."

Instantly there was confusion. Resolutions, amendments, counter-amendments came in too fast to count soon. The convention became tangled up in a maze of parliamentary proceedings. Finally adjournment was announced until 8 p. m.

The night session was picturesque. It lasted till after midnight. The following nominations for the Vice-Presidency were made :

John J. Lentz, Ohio; T. T. Rynder, Pennsylvania; F. Gerry Brown, Massachusetts; John Breiderbat, Kansas; J. H. Davis, Texas, and H. S. Taylor, Illinois.

The spirit of the convention then turned to Towne, and he was named by acclamation.

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

Adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900.

The People's Party of the United States in convention assembled, congratulates its supporters on the wide extension of its principles in all directions, does hereby re-affirm its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in its two prior platforms and calls upon all who desire to avert the subversion of free institutions by corporate and imperialistic power, to unite with it in bringing the government back to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

It extends to its allies in the struggle for financial and economic freedom assurances of its loyalty to the principles which animate the allied forces and the promise of honest and hearty co-operation in every effort of their success,

To the people of the United States we offer the following platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions :

THE CURRENCY ACT DENOUNCED.

Resolved, That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation, and to relegate to a gigantic money trust the control of the purse and hence of the people.

We denounce this act, first, for making all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin or its equivalent, thus enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.

Second. For refunding "coin bonds" not to mature for years into long time gold bonds so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

Third. For taking from the Treasury over fifty millions of dollars in a time of war, and presenting it, at a premium, to bond-holders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

Fourth. For doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes so that they may draw one interest from the government and another from the people.

Fifth. For allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

Sixth. For authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency, by drawing gold from the Treasury, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

Seventh. For striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow three hundred and forty-six millions of dollars more from the banks at an annual cost of over twenty millions of dollars.

While barring out the money of the Constitution, this law opens the printing Mints of the Treasury to the free coinage of paper money to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

We pledge anew the People's Party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenbacks restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired.

SILVER COINAGE AT 16 TO 1

We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the Mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws, the remaining portion of the bank notes to

be replaced with full legal tender government paper money, and its volume so controlled as to maintain at all times a stable money market and a stable price level.

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

With Thomas Jefferson we declare the land, including all natural sources of wealth, the inalienable heritage of the people. Government should so act to secure homes for the people and prevent land monopoly. The original homestead policy should be enforced and future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead while all who have paid an acreage price to the Government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the extortion, tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

THE TRUST QUESTION

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result and culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation and the means of transmission of information; which instruments of commerce are public functions and which our forefathers declared in the Constitution should be controlled by the people through their Congress for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts is that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by a trust shall be abolished.

To cope with the trust evil the people must act directly, without the intervention of representatives, who may be controlled or influenced. We, therefore, demand direct legislation, giving the people the lawmaking and veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

WARS OF CONQUEST Condemned

Applauding the valor of our army and navy in the Spanish war, we denounce the conduct of the administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our national life, at war with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the plain precepts of humanity. Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals of the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Filipinos of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the American flag are one and inseparable. The Island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States, and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island the administration has violated the Constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our forefathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

Out of the imperialism which would force an undesired domination on the people of the Philippines springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. Nothing in the character or purposes of our people justifies us in ignoring the plain lesson of history and putting our liberties in jeopardy by assuming the burden of militarism, which is crushing the people of the Old World.

We denounce the administration for its sinister efforts to substitute a standing army for the citizen soldiery, which is the best safeguard of the Republic.

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance, open or covert, between the United States and any other nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

And a further manifestation of imperialism is to be found in the mining districts of Idaho. In the Cœur d'Alene soldiers have been used to overawe miners striving for a greater measure of industrial independence. And we denounce the state government of Idaho and the Federal government for employing the military arm of the government to abridge the civil rights of the people and to enforce an infamous permit system which denies to laborers their inherent liberty, and compels them to foreswear their manhood and their right before being permitted to seek employment.

The importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigration laws. We demand that the Federal government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws. We further pledge ourselves to strive for the enactment of more stringent laws for the exclusion of Mongolian and Malayan immigration.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP AND FREE BALLOT

We endorse municipal ownership of public utilities, and declare that the advantages which have accrued to the public under that system would be multiplied 100 fold by its extention to natural interstate monopolies.

We denounce the practice of issuing injunctions in the cases of dispute between employers and employes, making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals, and demand legislation to restrain the evil.

We demand that United States Senators and all other officials, as far as practicable, be elected by direct vote of the people.

Believing that the elective franchise and untrammeled ballot are essential to a government of, for and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement by coercion and intimidation, adopted in some states, as unrepresen-tative and undemocratic. And we declare it to be the duty of the several state legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot and an honest count.

We favor home rule in the territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the territories as states. We denounce the expensive red tape system, political favoritism, cruel and unnecessary delay and criminal evasion of the statutes in the management of the Pension Office, and demand the simple and honest execution of the law and the fulfillment by the nation of its pledges of service pension to all its honorably discharged veterans.

CINCINNATI CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

Thursday, May 10th, at 4.40 P.M., the People's Party National Convention assembled in Cincinnati pursuant to call. It nominated Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, for President, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, for Vice-President, adopted a platform upon which they stand, rules for the organization and government of the party, and chose Joseph A. Parker, of Kentucky, National Chairman.

Upon motion of Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Barker was then invited to address the convention, and he took the platform and first discussed some of the phases of the trust question.

Mr. Barker said that he would not detain the convention by discussing questions or repeating thoughts that had been so ably presented by previous speakers, that he would not stop to dwell on the demand for the initiative and referendum which, he might say in passing, he regarded as the most important of all the Populist demands; that he would not touch upon the money question, but desired to direct attention to one or two phases of the trust

question that he did not think had been sufficiently emphasized by those who had spoken before. He declared that trusts were of three kinds. First, there were trusts that might be spoken of as natural trusts, and were the product of our industrial evolution, trusts the outgrowth of efforts to avail of the savings and economies in production and distribution that concentration and combination make possible. These trusts, as natural as might be their growth, could not be expected to be superior to temptation, and not being superior to temptation naturally fall to abusing their power. The only way to rid ourselves of the evil coming with these trusts was for the government to take the ownership and management of such into its own hands.

Then there were those trusts that are reared upon railroad rebates, and can be dealt with by the government taking over the railroads. Mr. Barker cited the Carnegie Company as a combination that had been reared upon rebates, and was now ensconced behind them exacting tribute from the people. He recalled that recent differences among the partners in that combination had brought out the fact that the profits for last year were \$20,000,000, and that it was estimated that this year's profits would be \$40,000,000. He wanted to know if anyone thought that the employees of the Carnegie Company got their just share of what their labor produced.

THE LESSON OF A PICTURE GALLERY

Next Mr. Barker spoke of those monopolies resting on municipal franchises. Upon the private ownership of such franchises many great fortunes had been reared. And no wonder, for possession of such franchises confers the power to tax. He instanced the case of the Elkins-Widener syndicate. He said that within a mile and a half from where he lived was a palace lately erected by Mr. Widener in which there was a picture gallery said to contain pictures that had cost \$2,400,000. It had been his pleasure to go through that gallery not long since. He did not decry the expenditure of money in the collection of those treasures as a waste of wealth.

He believed in the expenditure of money for art, for picture galleries, for anything that would elevate the thought. It was not a waste. But he could not help thinking that that picture gallery ought to be the people's picture gallery. For it was paid for by the people's money, by money taxed from the people just as much as if the city had taxed it. Managing to get control of franchises, Mr. Widener had gotten from the city the power to levy upon the people who must ride an indirect tax; levying such tax, he accumulated a fortune out of which he had created a princely picture gallery. But the city should never have given away that power to tax, it should have kept that power to itself, and if it had, the picture gallery that is now the property of one citizen might have been the property of all. And in getting it they would have been no more burdened, no more heavily taxed than they have been to create the gallery which is not theirs.

THE PLATFORM

Col. J. S. Felters, of Illinois, read the platform as recommended by the Platform Committee, which, with the addition of the 7th article, was adopted. It is as follows:

The People's party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, this 10th day of May, 1900, affirming our unshaken belief in the cardinal tenets of the People's party as set forth in the Omaha platform, and pledging ourselves anew to continued advocacy of those grand principles of human liberty until right shall triumph over might, love over greed, do adopt and proclaim this declaration of faith :

First. We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate of such changes of existing fundamental and statute law as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire; to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests, and to recall unfaithful public servants.

Second. We demand the public ownership and operation of those means of communication, transportation and production which

the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraphs and telephone lines, coal mines, etc.

Third. The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purpose, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Fourth. A scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts, and receivable for all taxes and public dues, and issued by the government only, without the intervention of banks, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce, is the best currency that can be devised; but until such a financial system is secured, which we shall press for adoption, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

Fifth. We demand the levy and collection of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances, and a constitutional amendment to secure the same if necessary.

Sixth. We demand the election of President, Vice-President, Federal Judges and United States Senators, by direct vote of the people.

Seventh. We are opposed to trusts, and declare the contention between the old parties on the monopoly question is a sham battle, and that no solution of this mighty problem is possible without the adoption of the principles of public ownership of public utilities.

The convention adjourned *sine die*. And therewith passed into history what was probably the last national convention the People's Party will ever hold; for, by the rules of party organization adopted, the convention system was abolished and the system of making nominations by direct vote of the people, under the rules of the initiative and referendum, declared inaugurated in its stead.

CHAPTER XV.

Life and Public Services of William McKinley

Republican Candidate for President

Nominated June 21, 1900.

Career in War and Peace, as Soldier, Lawyer, Congressman, Governor and President—His Commanding Influence in Tariff and Financial Legislation—His Administration a Notable One.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY was born at Niles, O., January 29, 1843, and is therefore just past 57 years of age. He is now in the prime of vigorous manhood, and his powers of endurance are not excelled by any American of his age. The best evidence of this is the many campaigns which he has made during his public life in behalf of the Republican party. He has proved his ability and endurance by the number and perfection of the speeches which he has delivered.

His education, for reasons that could not be surmounted, was limited to the public schools of Ohio and to a brief academic course in Allegheny College. He taught school in the country and accumulated the small means necessary to defray the expenses of that sort of an education. This is the kind of schooling that has produced many of the most eminent Americans in public and private life.

HIS WAR SERVICES

McKinley entered the Union Army in June, 1861, enlisting in the Twenty-third Ohio Infantry when a little more than 17 years of age. This was a noted regiment. Among its earlier field officers may be mentioned General W. S. Rosecrans, General Scammon, General Stanley Matthews, General Rutherford B. Hayes, General Comley, and many other conspicuous men.

He served during the entire war, rising from the position of a private to the rank of major. He was a soldier on the front line, served in battles, marches, bivouacs and campaigns, and received the official commendation of his superior officers on very many occasions.

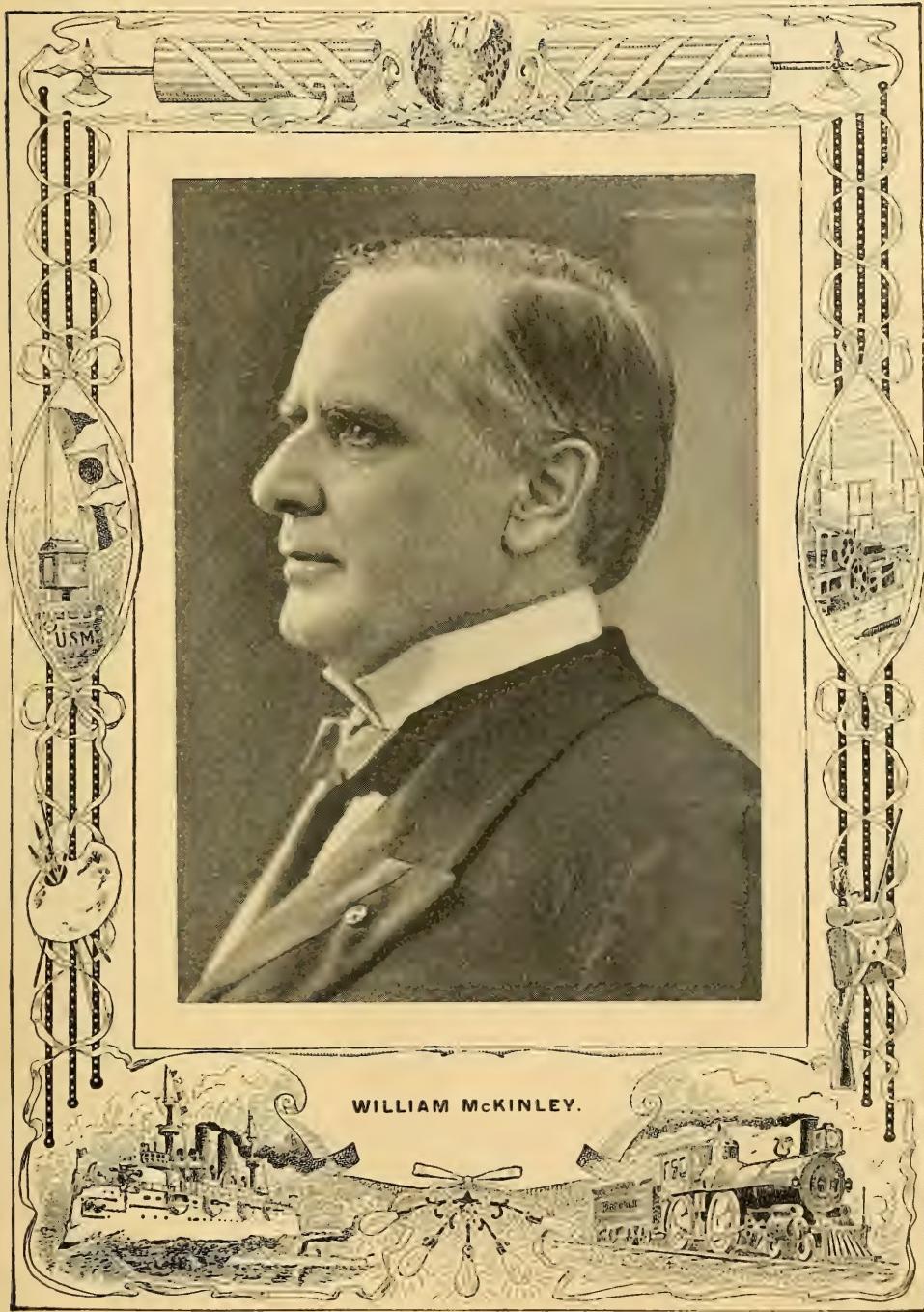
He returned to Ohio with a record of which any young man might well be proud, and to which the old soldiers of the country will point with great enthusiasm. There are in the United States at this time more than a million soldiers of the late war who served on the Union side still living and voting, and they have sons and their relatives, all of whom, taken in the aggregate, become a power in a presidential election.

His military career, while he was not in high command, is full of heroic incidents, which are proven not only by contemporaneous publications in the newspapers, but by official reports of his superior officers. He was not only a gallant and splendid soldier, full of endurance and personal energy, but he was the calm, judicious staff officer who won the commendations of his superiors by exhibition of good judgment and wise administrative capacity.

CHOOSING HIS EMPLOYMENT FOR LIFE

Returning from the war, he found it necessary to choose his employment for life, and without further schooling he entered earnestly upon the study of law in the office of Judge Poland, and was a careful, faithful, industrious and competent student. He entered the Albany Law School and graduated from that institution with high honors. He then began the practice of law in Canton with the same enthusiasm and devotion to duty which he had always manifested. As a practitioner at the bar he at once exhibited superior qualities, careful, studious and faithful. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney of his county and distinguished himself by his learning, fidelity and efficiency in the discharge of his duties to the public and his clients.

He was elected a member of the Forty-fifth Congress Congress, and served in that Congress and the Forty-sixth, Forty-



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.



MRS. WM. MCKINLEY
THE LADY OF THE WHITE HOUSE

seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and was certified as elected to the Fiftieth, but was excluded by a Democratic majority in a contest, but was returned to the Fifty-first, making his Congressional career nearly fourteen years. As a member of Congress he was attentive, industrious and untiring, working his way gradually until he reached the post of leader of the Republican majority of the Fifty-first Congress.

WORK IN CONGRESS

He did not attain this position by accident or by any fortuitous circumstances, but by constant attention to his duties and a careful study of the public measures of importance. He was a candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress. Mr. Reed, the successful candidate, appointed him as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and he entered upon the duties incident to that position with energy and intelligence. There was a necessity and a well-defined public demand for tariff legislation in that Congress.

The Republican party had come into power by the election of Mr. Harrison, with the understanding and pledge that tariff revision should be accomplished at once. The tariff laws of 1883 required amendment and improvement on account of the lapse of time and change of circumstances. In 1890 it was decided to present a complete revision of the tariff, and to this work McKinley devoted himself with untiring industry. He had upon that committee many competent assistants, but the chief burdens necessarily fell upon the chairman.

HIS TARIFF MEASURE

Speaker Reed was in hearty sympathy and earnest co-operation, and the House of Representatives, on the 21st day of May, 1890, passed the bill known as the McKinley Tariff Bill. Any one turning to the great debate in the House of Representatives pending the passage of that measure in the Committee of the Whole, will appreciate the great scope of McKinley's knowledge of the subject-matter of that enactment.

It has never been claimed by McKinley's friends that he was the sole author of the McKinley Bill.

Not only did he have able supporters and assistants, but he yielded to them, under all circumstances, opportunities for demonstrating their leadership upon subjects connected with the bill, and over and over again expressed in public and in private his great admiration for the assistance contributed by his colleagues in the committee.

But it is fair to say that McKinley mastered the whole subject in Congress in detail. He has made the subject of protective tariff a life study. Born and reared within the sound of the rolling-mill and beneath the smoke and flame of furnaces, and with the full knowledge of the calls of labor and the necessities of capital, he has grown up from childhood a student of economic questions involved in American legislation, and so he has brought to every task as legislator and executive remarkable knowledge of details and thorough equipment for the great work devolved upon him. McKinley is a man of conspicuous modesty. He never claimed the exclusive authorship of the tariff law, but it must be admitted that he contributed more than any one else to the policy of combining in a tariff law ample provision for sufficient revenue to meet the expenditures of the government, and at the same time to protect and foster impartially all domestic labor and production from undue competition with the poorly paid labor of foreign nations.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1892

It is often asserted that the McKinley Act failed in providing sufficient revenue to support the government. This is not true, as it did furnish revenue to meet expenditures, but it did not provide a surplus equal to the sinking fund for the reduction of the public debt. This was not the fault of McKinley or of the House of Representatives, but of the Senate, which insisted upon reciprocity clauses which largely reduced the revenue provided by that act.

It was the misfortune of the McKinley Act that it took effect at the opening of a presidential contest, and when "labor troubles"

excited the public mind. The election of 1892 fell with demoralizing and almost crushing weight upon the Republican party of the country. The law of 1890 was everywhere, by Republicans and Democrats, denominated the McKinley Law, and from ocean to ocean the common people learned so to denominate it.

At that time Major McKinley not only did not seek to evade the responsibility of his position, but frankly and openly admitted it, and he counseled courage and fortitude, and gave assurance of his strong faith in the ultimate triumph of the Republican party upon the very principles which then seemed to be repudiated by the people.

After the passage of the tariff act of 1890 the country rang with the designation "McKinley Law" as a term of reproach. The man who had given his name to that act when it was denounced, boldly proclaimed his responsibility for it. When the tide turned in his favor he heartily acknowledged the aid of his colleagues.

POWERS OF LEADERSHIP

Mr. McKinley has won friends from all parties by uniform courtesy and fairness, unyielding in sustaining the position of his party upon every question on the floor of the House while he was leader of that body. His leadership was, nevertheless, not offensive or aggressive, and while he carried his points, he was always courteous to his opponents, impersonal in debate, and always ready to concede honest motives to his opponents.

At the close of the Fifty-first Congress, and when his services as Congressman ended, he retired without leaving behind him a single enemy, and yet he had been unswerving in party fealty and uncompromising upon every question of principle. His name became linked with the great measure of that Congress by the common voice of the people of the whole country and by the world at large.

He, shortly after his service in Congress, entered upon the campaign for Governor of Ohio. He was nominated by acclamation in 1891. The state had been carried in 1890 by the Republi-

cans by a very close majority, and the drift in the country was against the success of the Republican party. The discussion by Major McKinley in Ohio of the tariff and currency questions was one of the most thorough and instructive of all the debates in that state. It was a counterpart, in large measure, of that of 1875, when, after a series of defeats throughout the country, growing out of the use of irredeemable paper money, President Hayes, then a candidate for Governor of Ohio, boldly advocated the resumption of specie payments, and was elected on that issue. It was a campaign where principles won against prejudices.

So, in the campaign of 1891, Governor McKinley, disregarding threatened disasters, adhered without compromise to the platform of principles involved in the tariff legislation of Congress. He neither apologized nor modified his position, and his election by upwards of 20,000 majority in that year was the significant result.

In January, 1896, he retired from the office of Governor, at the end of his second term, with the hearty good-will of all the people of the state. He had yielded to no unworthy influence, made duty, honor, integrity and fidelity the criterion of his administration, and he took his place in the ranks of the private citizens of the state in the town from which he had first entered Congress.

KNOWLEDGE ON MANY TOPICS

It has been said that Governor McKinley's knowledge is limited to a single subject, and that his speeches have been confined to the tariff question. This is a great mistake. His studies and speeches embraced a great variety of subjects and extended to nearly every measure of importance discussed while he was in Congress, and his addresses to the people, a long list of which has been published, cover every variety of subjects appropriate to the time and place when they were delivered.

On the vital question of the currency he has held the position of the Republican party. When, under the stress of war, the United States was compelled to use irredeemable money, he acquiesced in conditions he could not change; but every step taken to

advance the credit and value of the United States notes while he has been in public life, he has supported. He supported the act for the resumption of specie payments and the successful accomplishment of that measure.

A POPULAR AND FAVORITE CANDIDATE

With his advanced views on tariff and money question, and with his marked success as governor of the large and national State of Ohio, and a reputation which is known in all the states in the Union, it is not a surprise that he was a popular and favorite candidate at the National Convention, which assembled in St. Louis, June 16, 1896. At no time had there been a greater number of brilliant and able men named for the honor of nomination than during the few months which preceded the convention. Among these were "Tom" Reed, of Maine, who has no superior in brains, wit and ability, and all the qualifications, which would make him a chief magistrate, equal to any who have sat in the presidential chair; also William B. Allison, the distinguished Congressman and Senator, a man of national reputation for statesmanship, and from the great State of Ohio, and Levi P. Morton, the Governor of the imperial State of New York, were also candidates. But after all that was said and done in and out of the convention in upholding of other candidates, William McKinley was by far the choice of the convention and received the nomination at the end of the first and only ballot, having received $661\frac{1}{2}$ votes, Thomas B. Reed, $84\frac{1}{2}$ votes, Matthew S. Quay $61\frac{1}{2}$, Morton 58, Allison $35\frac{1}{2}$. The election in November, 1896, showed that William McKinley had received 271 electoral votes, and the popular vote of 7,104,779, as against William J. Bryan, who received 176 electoral votes, and the popular vote of 6,502,925.

In his domestic life President McKinley is a model American citizen. It is not the purpose of the writer of this sketch to use fulsome language or to comment upon his private life, beyond the mere statement that he is and has been an affectionate and devoted husband and a true friend. In his family and social life,

and in his personal habits, he commends himself to the friends of order, temperance and good morals. In private he is exemplary, in public life a patriotic citizen.

It may be said of him, with great propriety, that no man can more fully represent in his own career than he the great issues upon which the Republican party will contest the election of 1900.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY AS PRESIDENT

The presidential administration of Mr. McKinley has been one of the most eventful in our history. It has marked our entrance among the leading nations of the world in the field of territorial expansion beyond the limits of our own continent and hemisphere. During the four years that have passed, New York City has become Greater New York by absorbing Brooklyn and other suburbs, becoming thereby not only the metropolis of the western hemisphere, but also the second city in the world in population. New York City and State, with the aid of contributions from the various parts of the United States, have erected, at Morningside Heights on the banks of the Hudson, a beautiful tomb for the remains of General Grant. President McKinley was present at the dedication, and delivered a most glowing tribute to the memory of the great general.

There was much excitement throughout the country in 1897 over the reported discoveries of rich deposit of gold in the Klondike, as the region along the Yukon River in Alaska is called. These reports were discredited at first, but they were repeated, and proof soon appeared that they were based upon truth. In the autumn of 1896, about fifty miners visited the section, led thither by the rumors that had come to them. None of the men carried more than his outfit and a few hundred dollars, but when they returned they brought gold to the value of from \$5,000 to \$100,000 apiece, besides leaving claims behind them that were worth thousands of dollars. In July, 1897, a party of miners arrived at Seattle from the Klondike, bringing with them nuggets and gold-dust weighing more than a ton and worth a million and a half of dollars. Besides

this, other men continually came back with such quantities of the precious metal that it was apparent that not only were the reports justified, but, what is the exception in such cases, the whole truth had not been told,

KLONDIKE GOLD EXCITEMENT

The natural consequence was that a rush set in for the Klondike, which is the name of a tributary of the Yukon, and flows through the richest gold fields, where the mining days of early California were repeated. Dawson City was founded at the mouth of the Klondike, and in a short time had a population 5,000. Before the year closed, 500 claims were located, with more taken up daily. As was inevitable, there was much suffering, for the Yukon is closed by ice during the greater part of the year, and the winter climate is of Arctic severity. The most productive fields were found to be not in Alaska, but in the British provinces known as the Northwest Territories. While many gathered fortunes in the Klondike, the majority, after great hardships and suffering, returned to their homes poorer than when they left them.

This Administration will occupy an important part in American History, because of the brief and decisive war with Spain. President McKinley was not eager for war with Spain, and showed great tact and good judgment in trying to avert it. He at no time showed any fear or hesitancy in upholding the rights of the American people. He treated Spain with the greatest courtesy and consideration, and in every way possible, by word and act, tried to keep down the war fever which seemed to take possession of the people; but the accounts of Spanish oppression in Cuba reached the ears of the people and sympathy wide spread was evidenced in public meetings and resolutions. A Congressional party visited Cuba in March, 1898, and witnessed the hideous suffering of the Cubans, of which more than 100,000 had been starved to death, with scores still perishing daily. In referring to what they saw, Senator Proctor, of Vermont, said: "I shall refer to these horrible things no further. They are there. God pity

me, I have seen them ; they will remain in my mind forever, and this is almost the twentieth century. Christ died 1,900 years ago, and Spain is a Christian nation. She has set up more crosses in more lands beneath more skies, and under them has butchered more people than all the other nations of the earth combined. God grant that before another Christmas morning the last vestige of Spanish tyranny and oppression will have vanished from the western hemisphere."

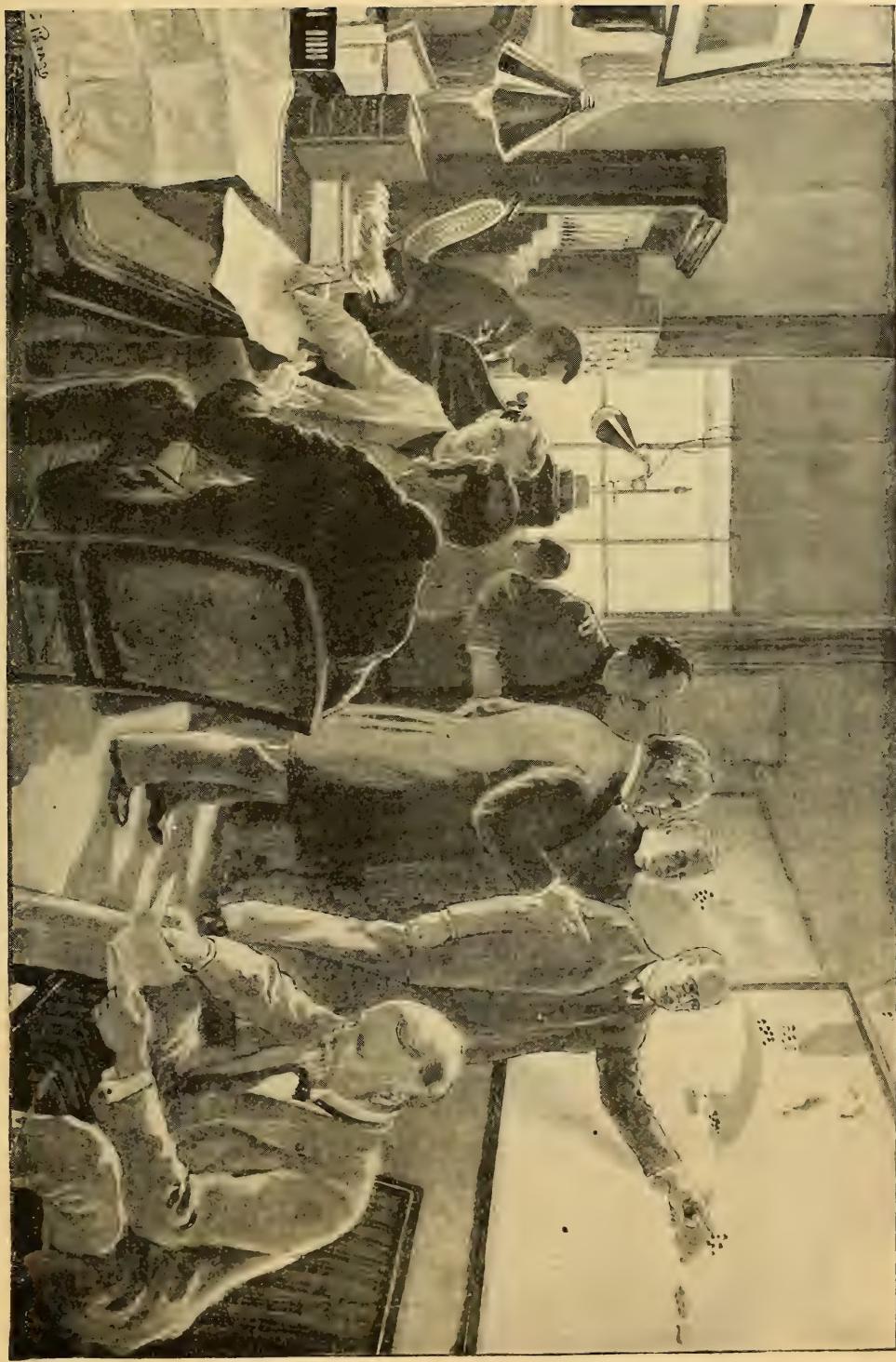
THE CUBAN TROUBLES

The ferocious measures of Weyler brought so indignant a protest from our country that he was recalled, and his place taken by General Ramon Blanco, who reached Havana in the autumn of 1897. Under him the indecisive fighting went on much as before, with no important advantage gained by either side. Friends of Cuba made appeals in Congress for the granting of belligerent rights to the insurgents, but strict international law demanded that their government should gain a more tangible form and existence before such rights could be conceded.

Matters were in this state of extreme tension when the blowing-up of the *Maine* occurred. While riding quietly at anchor in the Harbor of Havana, on the night of February 15, 1898, she was utterly destroyed by a terrific explosion, which killed 266 officers and men. The news thrilled the land with horror and rage, for it was taken at once for granted that the appalling crime had been committed by Spaniards, but the absolute proof remained to be brought forward, and the Americans, with their proverbial love of justice and fair-play, waited for such proof.

Competent men were selected for the investigation, and they spent three weeks in making it. They reported that it had been established beyond question that the *Maine* was destroyed by an outside explosion, or submarine mine, though they were unable to determine who was directly responsible for the act.

The insistence of Spain, of course, was that the explosion was accidental and resulted from carelessness on the part of Captain

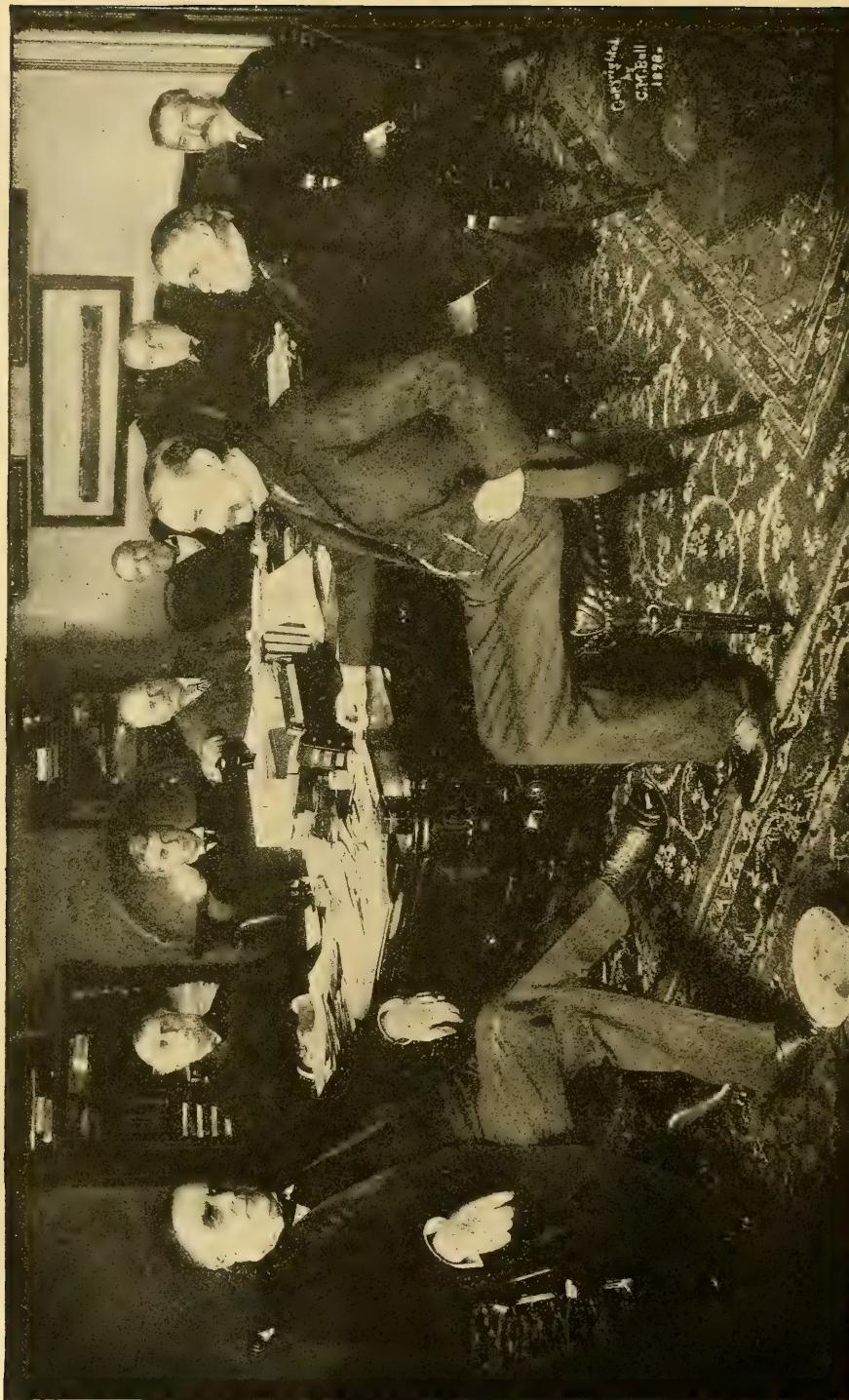


IN THE WAR ROOM AT WASHINGTON

The above illustration shows President McKinley, Secretary Long, Secretary Alger and Major-General Miles consulting the map during the progress of the Spanish-American War. It is in this room that the plans of conducting the war by land and sea are formulated, and the commands for action are wired to the fleet and the army.

JAS. WILSON,
Secy of the Treasury

C. N. BLISS,
Sec'y of the Interior.



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY

JOHN D. LONG,
Attorney-General.

W. M. R. DAY,
Sec'y of the Navy.

C. L. AS, Emory SMITH,
Postmaster-General.

RUSSELL A. ALGER,
Sec'y of War.

C. L. AS, Emory SMITH,
Postmaster-General.

Sigsbee and his crew ; but it may be doubted whether any of the Spanish officials in Havana ever really held such a belief. While Spain herself was not directly responsible for the destruction of the war-ship and those who went down in her, it was some of her officials who destroyed her. The displacement of the ferocious Weyler had incensed a good many of his friends, some of whom most likely expressed their views in this manner, which, happily for the credit of humanity, is exceedingly rare in the history of nations.

The momentous events that followed are given in another chapter.

The President has had a most difficult course to pursue, as so many new problems have arisen for which he has had no precedent in American history. Unexpectedly to him and to every one, it became necessary for him, in concluding peace with Spain, to acquire the Philippine Islands. He had driven from those islands the already established government of Spain, which left the people of the Philippines without any organized form of government. They had themselves not been used to taking the initiative. They had for many generations been subject to the cupidity and malfeasance in office of the Spaniards. When the Spanish power was destroyed there seemed to be only two things to be done, either to assume entire possession and control of the islands, or to hand them back to Spain, who had lost, in consequence of her defeat in the war, what little respect she had among the Filipinos.

THE PARIS COMMISSION

The President showed his good judgment in appointing on the commission, which met in Paris, public spirited and representative men of both of the great political parties, and men who had diverse ideas as to the terms of peace which should be made. The report of their discussions and deliberations at Paris indicate that all the commissioners were prompted by the highest patriotic sentiments, and the country was willing to accept their judgment as right and proper. However, as in all great crises, there are

those who just as conscientiously believe that the other course should have been taken. Also, although many voted for the acceptance of the treaty of peace as laid down at Paris, who really did not desire the acquisition of so much territory, yet when the decision came as to how these territories should be governed, there naturally has arisen a wide divergence of opinion. President McKinley has recognized from the very first that it is a matter for Congress to decide. His duty as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States was plain, namely, to provide only for provisional government until a permanent form should be arranged for by Congress.

The war has necessitated a very large increase in the standing army of the United States, and entailed an expenditure of money which the ordinary revenues would not meet. In consequence, with the war came the measures necessary to raise the increased revenue. Almost immediately with the declaration of war was passed the act called the Internal Revenue Bill. This is levied by stamp duties and revenue on all forms of commercial paper, including bank checks, notes, deeds and legal documents, besides sleeping car and steamboat tickets, patent medicines, and many other articles, too numerous to be mentioned. This was successful in raising the required revenue. In fact, since the successful conclusion of active military operations the expenditures of the government have decreased, and the revenue has increased to such an extent that the Secretary of the Treasury estimates that there will be a surplus of more than \$70,000,000. The administration also has endeavored to fulfil its obligation in regard to financial legislation by the passing of the so-called Gold Bill, in March, 1900. This is discussed in another chapter. President McKinley's administration will go before the people during the campaign of 1900 with questions of vital importance upon some of which action has already been definitely taken, and on others action is yet to be taken, which, no doubt, will be influenced by the voters themselves. These questions are mentioned and discussed in other chapters.

In conclusion, President McKinley has been fortunate in his administration in helping to obliterate the last vestige of estrangement between the North and South. His wise selection of officers for important military commands from the ex-Confederate generals, his presence at unveiling and other ceremonies in the South, his speeches expressing kindly feeling, all have endeared him to the South as well as the North as the Nation's President. With the close of his official term, we enter upon a new century, which also marks the beginning of the second era in the Republic's history. William McKinley has been tried and has proved a willing and able public servant should it be required of him to guide the ship of state for another term.

HIS RE-NOMINATION

Only a few times in our country's history, has a President received a re-nomination with the enthusiasm and confidence of his party, as did President McKinley at Philadelphia, on the 21st of June, 1900. It recalled in many ways the re-nomination of President Grant for a second term in the same city. His presidential term has made him one of the foremost statesmen, whose principles, purposes and policy are of moment in all the world's wide affairs. From war and from peace alike, President McKinley has harvested results which enrich the nation and ennable its history. He was nominated in 1896 because he represented protection and became, as it were, a balance of conflicting issues and probabilities. His second nomination seemed to sum up in his person the character of the determination and purpose of his party who propose to commit to him its standard. In him it claims to represent protection of home industry, protection of the foreign market, sound currency and gold standard, higher wages for labor, the widening of national influence, and a full knowledge of the power and resources of the United States, through all the islands of the sea. Therefore, with great confidence and with much enthusiasm, his party has again placed him before the country for the campaign of 1900.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Spanish-American War

How the War was Brought on—Preparations for War—Operations in Cuba—In Porto Rico—The Great Engagements of the War—Its Sudden Termination—The Treaty of Peace.

THE war between the United States and Spain was, in brief, a war for humanity, for America could no longer close her ears to the wails of the dead and dying that lay perishing, as may be said, on her very doorsteps. It was not a war for conquest or gain, nor was it in revenge for the awful destruction of the *Maine*, though few nations would have restrained their wrath with such sublime patience as did our countrymen while the investigation was in progress. Yet it cannot be denied that this unparalleled outrage intensified the war fever in the United States, and thousands were eager for the opportunity to punish Spanish cruelty and treachery. Congress reflected this spirit when by a unanimous vote it appropriated \$50,000,000 "for the national defense." The War and Navy Departments hummed with the activity of recruiting, the preparations of vessels and coast defenses, the purchase of war material and vessels at home, while agents were sent to Europe to procure all the war-ships in the market. Unlimited capital was at their command, and the question of price was never an obstacle. When hostilities impended the United States was unprepared for war, but by amazing activity, energy, and skill the preparations were pushed and completed with a rapidity that approached the marvelous.

War being inevitable, President McKinley sought to gain time for our consular representatives to leave Cuba where the situation

daily and hourly grew more dangerous. On April 18th the two houses of Congress adopted the following

RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near to our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating as they have, in the destruction of a United States battle-ship with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and cannot longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited; therefore,

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled—

First—That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

This resolution was signed by the President April 20th, and a copy served on the Spanish minister, who demanded his passports, and immediately left Washington. The contents were telegraphed to United States Minister Woodford at Madrid, with instructions to officially communicate them to the Spanish government, giving it until the 23d to answer. The Spanish authorities, however, anticipated this action by sending the American minister his passports on the morning of the 21st. This act was of itself equivalent to a declaration of war.

The making of history now went forward with impressive swiftness.

WAR PREPARATIONS

On April 22d the United States fleet was ordered to blockade Havana. On the 24th Spain declared war, and the United States Congress followed with a similar declaration on the 25th. The call for 75,000 volunteer troops was increased to 125,000 and subsequently to 200,000. The massing of men and stores was rapidly begun throughout the country. Within a month expeditions were organized for various points of attack, war-vessels were bought, and ocean passenger steamers were converted into auxiliary cruisers and transports. By the first of July 40,000 soldiers had been sent to Cuba and the Philippine Islands. The rapidity with which preparations were made and the victories gained and the progress shown by the Americans at once astonished and challenged the admiration of foreign nations who had regarded America as a country unprepared for war by land or sea. On April 27th, following the declaration of war on the 25th, Admiral Sampson, having previously blockaded the harbor of Havana, was reconnoitering with three vessels in the vicinity of Matanzas, Cuba, when he discovered the Spanish forces building earthworks, and ventured so close in his efforts to investigate the same that a challenge shot was fired from the fortification, Rubal Cava. Admiral Sampson quickly formed the *New York*, *Cincinnati* and *Puritan*, into a triangle and opened fire with their eight-inch guns. The action was very spirited on both sides for the space of eighteen minutes, at the expiration of which time the Spanish batteries were silenced and the earthworks destroyed, without casualty on the American side, though two shells burst dangerously near the *New York*. The last shot fired by the Americans was from one of the *Puritan's* thirteen-inch guns, which landed with deadly accuracy in the very centre of Rubal Cava, and, exploding, completely destroyed the earthworks. This was the first action of the war, though it could hardly be dignified by the name of a battle.

It was expected that the next engagement would be the bombardment of Morro Castle, at Havana. But it is the unexpected that often happens in war. In the Philippine Islands, on the other side of the world, the first real battle—one of the most remarkable in history—was next to occur.

THE BATTLE OF MANILA

On April 25th the following dispatch of eight potent words was cabled to Commodore Dewey on the Coast of China: "Capture or destroy the Spanish squadron at Manila." "Never," says James Gordon Bennett, "were instructions more effectively carried out. Within seven hours after arriving on the scene of action nothing remained to be done." It was on the 27th that Dewey sailed from Mirs Bay, China, and on the night of the 30th he lay before the entrance of the harbor of Manila, 700 miles away. Under the cover of darkness, with all lights extinguished on his ships, he daringly steamed into this unknown harbor, which he believed to be strewn with mines, and at daybreak engaged the Spanish fleet. Commodore Dewey knew it meant everything for him and his fleet to win or lose this battle. He was in the enemy's country, 7,000 miles from home. The issue of this battle must mean victory, Spanish dungeons, or the bottom of the ocean. "*Keep cool and obey orders*" was the signal he gave to his fleet, and then came the order to fire. The Americans had seven ships, the *Olympia*, *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, *Concord*, *Boston*, and the dispatch boat *McCullough*. The Spaniards had eleven, the *Reina Christina*, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, *General Lezo*, *Marquis de Duero*, *Cano*, *Velasco*, *Isla de Mindanao*, and a transport.

From the beginning Commodore Dewey fought on the offensive, and, after the manner of Nelson and Farragut, concentrated his fire upon the strongest ships one after another with terrible execution. The Spanish ships were inferior to his, but there were more of them, and they were under the protection of the land batteries. The fire of the Americans was especially noted for its

terrific rapidity and the wonderful accuracy of its aim. The battle lasted for about five hours, and resulted in the destruction of all the Spanish ships and the silencing of the land batteries. The Spanish loss in killed and wounded was estimated to be fully 1,000 men, while on the American side not a ship was even seriously damaged, and not a single man was killed outright, and only six were wounded.

THANKED AND PROMOTED BY HIS COUNTRY

More than a month after the battle, Captain Charles B. Gridley, commander of the *Olympia*, died, though his death was the result of an accident received in the discharge of his duty during the battle, and not from a wound. On May 2d Commodore Dewey cut the cable connecting Manila with Hong Kong, and destroyed the fortifications at the entrance of Manila Bay, and took possession of the naval station at Cavite. This was to prevent communication between the Philippine Islands and the government at Madrid, and necessitated the sending of Commodore Dewey's official account of the battle by the dispatch boat *McCullough* to Hong Kong, whence it was cabled to the United States. After its receipt, May 9th, both Houses adopted resolutions of congratulation to Commodore Dewey and his officers and men for their gallantry at Manila, voted an appropriation for medals for the crew and a fine sword for the gallant Commander, and also passed a bill authorizing the President to appoint another rear-admiral, which honor was promptly conferred upon Commodore Dewey, accompanied by the thanks of the President and of the nation for the admirable and heroic services rendered his country.

The Battle of Manila must ever remain a monument to the daring and courage of Admiral Dewey. However unevenly matched the two fleets may have been, the world agrees with the eminent naval critic who declared: "This complete victory was the product of forethought, cool, well-balanced judgment, discipline, and bravery. It was a magnificent achievement, and Dewey will go down in history ranking with John Paul Jones and Lord Nelson as a naval hero."

Admiral Dewey might have taken possession of the city of Manila immediately. He cabled the United States that he could do so, but the fact remained that he had not sufficient men to care for his ships and at the same time effect a successful landing in the town of Manila. Therefore he chose to remain on his ships, and though the city was at his mercy, he refrained from a bombardment because he believed it would lead to a massacre of the Spaniards on the part of the insurgents surrounding the city, which it would be beyond his power to stop. This humane manifestation toward the conquered foe adds to the lustre of the hero's crown, and at the same time places the seal of greatness upon the brow of the victor. He not only refrained from bombarding the city, but received and cared for the wounded Spaniards upon his own vessels. Thus, while he did all that was required of him without costing his country the life of a single citizen, he manifested a spirit of humanity and generosity toward the vanquished foe fully in keeping with the sympathetic spirit which involved this nation in the war for humanity's sake.

DIFFICULTIES FOR THE GOVERNMENT

The Battle of Manila further demonstrated that a fleet with heavier guns is virtually invulnerable in a campaign with a squadron bearing lighter metal, however gallantly the crew of the latter may fight.

Before the Battle of Manila it was recognized that the government had serious trouble on its hands. On May 4th President McKinley nominated ten new Mayor-Generals, including Thomas H. Wilson, Fitzhugh Lee, William J. Sewell (who was not commissioned), and Joseph Wheeler, from private life, and promoted Brigadier-Generals Breckinridge, Otis, Coppinger, Shafter, Graham, Wade, and Merriam, from the regular army. The organization and mobilization of troops was promptly begun and rapidly pushed. Meantime our naval vessels were actively cruising around the Island of Cuba, expecting the appearance of the Spanish fleet.

On May 11th the gunboat *Wilmington*, revenue-cutter *Hudson*, and the torpedo-boat *Winslow* entered Cardenas Bay, Cuba, to

attack the defences and three small Spanish gunboats that had taken refuge in the harbor. The *Winslow*, being of light draft, took the lead, and when within eight hundred yards of the fort was fired upon with disastrous effect, being struck eighteen times and rendered helpless. Ensign Worth Bagley, of the *Winslow*, who had recently entered active service, was one of the killed. He was the first officer who lost his life in the war.

On the same date Admiral Sampson's squadron arrived at San Juan, Porto Rico, whither it had gone in the expectation of meeting with Admiral Cervera's fleet, which had sailed westward from the Cape Verde Islands on April 29th, after Portugal's declaration of neutrality. The Spanish fleet, however, did not materialize.

Deeming it unnecessary to wait for the Spanish war-ships in the vicinity of San Juan, Sampson withdrew his squadron and sailed westward in the hope of finding Cervera's fleet, which was dodging about the Caribbean Sea. For many days the hunt of the war-ships went on like a fox-chase. On May 21st Commodore Schley blockaded Cienfuegos, supposing that Cervera was inside the harbor, but on the 24th he discovered his mistake and sailed to Santiago, where he lay before the entrance to the harbor for three days, not knowing whether or not the Spaniard was inside. On May 30th it was positively discovered that he had Cervera bottled up in the narrow harbor of Santiago. He had been there since the 19th, and had landed 800 men, 20,000 Mauser rifles, a great supply of ammunition, and four great guns for the defense of the city.

OPERATIONS AGAINST SANTIAGO

On May 31st Commodore Schley opened fire on the fortifications at the mouth of the harbor, which lasted for about half an hour. This was for the purpose of discovering the location and strength of the batteries, some of which were concealed, and in this he was completely successful. Two of the batteries were silenced, and the flagship of the Spaniards, which took part in the engagement, was damaged. The Americans received no injury to vessels and no loss of men. On June 1st Admiral Sampson arrived before

Santiago, and relieved Commodore Schley of the chief command of the forces, then consisting of sixteen war-ships.

Admiral Sampson, naturally a cautious commander, suffered great apprehension lest Cervera might slip out of the harbor and escape during the darkness of the night or the progress of a storm, which would compel the blockading fleet to stand far off shore. There was a point in the channel wide enough for only one war-ship to pass at a time, and if this could be rendered impassable Cervera's doom would be sealed. How to reach and close this passage was the difficult problem to be solved. On either shore of the narrow channel stood frowning forts with cannon, and there were other fortifications to be passed before it could be reached.

LIEUTENANT HOBSON'S HEROISM

Lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson, a naval engineer, at 3 o'clock A. M., June 3d, in company with seven volunteers from the *New York* and other ships, took the United States collier *Merrimac*, a large vessel with 600 tons of coal on board, and started with the purpose of sinking it in the channel. The ship had hardly started when the forts opened fire, and amid the thunder of artillery and a rain of steel and bursting shells the boat with its eight brave heroes held on its way, as steadily as if they knew not their danger. The channel was reached, and the boat turned across the channel. The sea-doors were opened and torpedoes exploded by the intrepid crew, sinking the vessel almost instantly, but not in the position desired. As the ship went down the men, with side-arms buckled on, took to a small boat, and, escape being impossible, they surrendered to the enemy. The Spaniards were so impressed with this act of bravery and heroism that they treated the prisoners with the greatest courtesy, confined them in Morro Castle, and Admiral Cervera promptly sent a special officer, under a flag of truce, to inform Admiral Sampson of their safety. The prisoners were kept confined in Morro Castle for some days, when they were removed to a place of greater safety, where they were held until exchanged on July 7th.

The danger of entering the narrow harbor in the face of Cevera's fleet rendered it necessary to take the city by land, and the government began preparations to send General Shafter with a large force from Tampa to aid the fleet in reducing the city. Some 15,000 men, including the now famous Rough Riders of New York, were hurried upon transports, and under the greatest convoy of gunboats, cruisers, and battle-ships which ever escorted an army started for the western end of the island of Cuba.

THE LANDING OF SHAFTER'S ARMY

On June 13th troops began to leave Tampa and Key West for operations against Santiago, and on June 20th the transports bearing them arrived off that city. Two days later General Shafter landed his army of 16,000 soldiers at Daiquiri, a short distance east of the entrance to the harbor, with the loss of only two men, and these by accident.

THE VICTORY OF THE ROUGH RIDERS

On June 24th the force under General Shafter reached Juragua, and the battle by land was now really to begin. It was about ten miles out from Santiago, at a point known as La Guasima. The country was covered with high grass and chaparral, and in this and on the wooded hills a strong force of Spaniards was hidden. Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders, technically known as the First Volunteer Cavalry under command of Colonel Wood, were in the fight, and it is to their bravery and dash that the glory of the day chiefly belongs. Troops under command of General Young had been sent out in advance, with the Rough Riders on his flank. There were about 1,200 of the cavalry in all, including the Rough Riders and the First and Tenth Regulars. They encountered a body of two thousand Spaniards in a thicket whom they fought dismounted.

For an hour they held their position in the midst of an unseen force, which poured a perfect hail of bullets upon them from in front and on both sides. At length, seeing that their only way of escape was

by dashing boldly at the hidden foe, Colonel Wood took command on the right of his column of Rough Riders, placing Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt at the left, and thus, with a rousing yell, they led their soldiers in a rushing charge before which the Spaniards fled from the hills and the victorious assailants took the blockhouses. The Americans had sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded, forty-two of the casualties occurring to the Rough Riders and twenty-six among the Regulars. It is estimated that the Spanish killed were nearly or quite one hundred. Thirty-seven were found by the Americans dead on the ground. They had carried off their wounded, and doubtless thought they had taken most of the killed away also.

General Garcia with 5,000 Cuban insurgents had placed himself some time before at the command of the American leader. On the 28th of June another large expedition of troops was landed, so that the entire force under General Shafter, including the Cuban allies, numbered over 22,000 fighting men.

THE BATTLE OF EL CANEY

The attack began July 1st, involving the whole line, but the main struggle occurred opposite the left centre of the column, on the heights of San Juan, and the next greatest engagement was on the right of the American line, at the little town of El Caney. These two points are several miles apart, the City of Santiago occupying very nearly the apex of a triangle of which a line connecting these two positions would form the base. John R. Church thus described the battles of July 1st and 2d:

"El Caney was taken by General Lawton's men after a sharp contest and severe loss on both sides. Here as everywhere there were blockhouses and trenches to be carried in the face of a hot fire from Mauser rifles, and the rifles were well served. The jungle must disturb the aim seriously, for our men did not suffer severely while under its cover, but in crossing clearings the rapid fire of the repeating rifles told with deadly effect. The object of the attack on El Caney was to crush the Spanish lines at a point near the city

and allow us to gain a high hill from which the place could be bombarded if necessary. In all of this we were entirely successful. The engagement began at 6.40 A. M., and at 4 o'clock the Spaniards were forced to abandon the place and retreat toward their lines nearer the city. The fight was opened by Capron's battery, at a range of 2,400 yards, and the troops engaged were Chaffee's brigade, the Seventh, Twelfth, and Seventeenth Infantry, who moved on Caney from the east; Colonel Miles' brigade of the First, Fourth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry, operating from the south; while Ludlow's brigade, containing the Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts, made a detour to attack from the southwest. The Spanish force is thought to have been 1,500 to 2,000 strong. It certainly fought our men for nine hours, but, of course, had the advantage of a fort and strong intrenchments.

The operations of our centre were calculated to cut the communications of Santiago with El Morro, and permit our forces to advance to the bay, and the principal effort of General Linares, the Spanish commander in the field, seems to have been to defeat this movement. He had fortified San Juan strongly, throwing up on it intrenchments that, in the hands of a more determined force, would have been impregnable.

THE BATTLE OF SAN JUAN

The battle of San Juan was opened by Grimes' battery, to which the enemy replied with shrapnell. The cavalry, dismounted, supported by Hawkins' brigade, advanced up the valley from the hill of El Pozo, forded several streams, where they lost heavily, and deployed at the foot of the series of hills known as San Juan, under a sharp fire from all sides, which was exceedingly annoying because the enemy could not be discerned, owing to the long range and smokeless powder. They were under fire for two hours before the charge could be made and a position reached under the brow of the hill. It was not until nearly 4 o'clock that the neighboring hills were occupied by our troops and the final successful effort to crown the ridge could be made. The obstacles interposed by the Spaniards

made these charges anything but the 'rushes' which war histories mention so often. They were slow and painful advances through difficult obstacles and a withering fire. The last 'charge' continued an hour, but at 4.45 the firing ceased, with San Juan in our possession.

The object of our attack was a blockhouse on the top of the hill of San Juan, guarded by trenches and the defenses spoken of, a mile and a half long. Our troops advanced steadily against a hot fire maintained by the enemy, who used their rifles with accuracy, but did not cling to their works stubbornly when we reached them. San Juan was carried in the afternoon. The attack on Aguadores was also successful, though it was not intended to be more than a feint to draw off men who might otherwise have increased our difficulties at San Juan. By nightfall General Shafter was able to telegraph that he had carried all outworks and was within three-quarters of a mile of the city.

THE MOST IMPORTANT BATTLE OF THE WAR

It was on Sunday morning July 3d, Admiral Cervera, in obedience to commands from his home government, endeavored to run his fleet past the blockading squadron of the Americans, with the result that all of his ships were destroyed, nearly 500 of his men killed and wounded, and himself and about 1,300 others were made prisoners. This naval engagement was one of the most dramatic and terrible in all the history of conflict upon the seas, and, as it was really the beginning of the end of what promised to be a long and terrible struggle, it was undoubtedly the most important battle of the war.

For nearly one month and a half the fleets of Schley and Sampson had lain, like watch-dogs before the mouth of the harbor, without for one moment relaxing their vigilance. The quiet of Sunday morning brooded over the scene. For two days before, July 1st and 2d, the fleets had bombarded the forts of Santiago for the fourth time, and all the ships, except the *Oregon*, had steam down so low as to allow them a speed of only five knots an hour.

At half-past nine o'clock the bugler sounded the call to quarters, and the Jackies appeared on deck rigged in their cleanest clothes for their regular Sunday inspection. On board the *Texas* the devout Captain Philip had sounded the trumpet-call to religious services. In an instant a line of smoke was seen coming out of the harbor by the watch on the *Iowa*, and from that vessel's yard a signal was run up—"The enemy is escaping to the westward." Simultaneously, from her bridge a six-pounder boomed on the still air to draw the attention of the other ships to her fluttering signal. On every vessel white masses were seen scrambling forward. Jackies and firemen tumbled over one another rushing to their stations. Officers jumped into the turrets through manholes, dressed in their best uniforms, and captains rushed to their conning towers. There was no time to waste—scarcely enough to get the battle-hatches screwed on tight.

THE BATTLE ON

One minute after the *Iowa* fired her signal-gun she was moving toward the harbor. From under the Castle of Morro came Admiral Cervera's flagship, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, followed by her sister armored cruisers, *Almirante Oquendo* and *Vizcaya*—so much alike that they could not be distinguished at any distance. There was also the splendid *Cristobal Colon*, and after them all the two fine torpedo-boat destroyers, *Pluton* and *Furor*. The *Teresa* opened fire as she sighted the American vessels, as did all of her companions, and the forts from the heights belched forth at the same time. Countless geysers around our slowly approaching battle-ships showed where the Spanish shells exploded in the water. The Americans replied. The battle was on, but at a long range of two or three miles, so that the secondary batteries could not be called into use; but 13-inch shells from the *Oregon* and *Indiana* and the 12-inch shells from the *Texas* and *Iowa* were churning up the water around the enemy. At this juncture it seemed impossible for the Americans to head off the Spanish cruisers from passing the western point, for they had come out of the harbor at

a speed of thirteen and one-half knots an hour, for which the blockading fleet was not prepared. But Admiral Sampson's instructions were simple and well understood—"Should the enemy come out, close in and head him off"—and every ship was now endeavoring to obey that standing command while they piled on coal and steamed up. Meanwhile, from the rapidly approaching *New York* the signal fluttered—"Close into the mouth of the harbor and engage the enemy;" but the admiral was too far away, or the men were too busy to see this signal, which they were, nevertheless, obeying to the letter.

HOW THE FIGHT WAS WON

It was not until the leading Spanish cruiser had almost reached the western point of the bay, and when it was evident that Cervera was leading his entire fleet in one direction, that the battle commenced in its fury. The *Iowa* and the *Oregon* headed straight for the shore, intending to ram if possible one or more of the Spaniards. The *Indiana* and the *Texas* were following, and the *Brooklyn*, in the endeavor to cut off the advance ship, was headed straight for the western point. The little unprotected *Gloucester* steamed right across the harbor mouth and engaged the *Oquendo* at closer range than any of the other ships, at the same time firing on the *Furor* and *Pluton*, which were rapidly approaching.

It then became apparent that the *Oregon* and *Iowa* could not ram, and that the *Brooklyn* could not head them off, as she had hoped, and, turning in a parallel course with them, a running fight ensued. Broadside after broadside came fast with terrific slaughter. The rapid-fire guns of the *Iowa* nearest the *Teresa* enveloped the former vessel in a mantle of smoke and flame. She was followed by the *Oregon*, *Indiana*, *Texas*, and *Brooklyn*, all pouring a rain of red-hot steel and exploding shell into the fleeing cruisers as they passed along in their desperate effort to escape. The *Furor* and *Pluton* dashed like mad colts for the *Brooklyn*, and Commodore Schley signaled—"Repel torpedo-destroyers." Some of the heavy ships turned their guns upon the little monsters. It was short

work. Clouds of black smoke rising from their thin sides showed how seriously they suffered as they floundered in the sea.

The *Brooklyn* and *Oregon* dashed on after the cruisers, followed by the other big ships, leaving the *Furor* and *Pluton* to the *Gloucester*, hoping the *New York*, which was coming in the distance, would arrive in time to help her out if she needed it. The firing from the main and second batteries of all the battle-ships—*Oregon*, *Iowa*, *Texas*—and the cruiser *Brooklyn* was turned upon the *Vizcaya*, *Teresa*, and *Oquendo* with such terrific broadsides and accuracy of aim that the Spaniards were driven from their guns repeatedly; but the officers gave the men liquor and drove them back, beating and sometimes shooting down those who weakened, without mercy; but under the terrific fire of the Americans, the poor wretches were again driven away or fell mangled by their guns or stunned from the concussions of the missiles on the sides of their ships.

THEY ARE ON FIRE! WE'VE FINISHED THEM

Presently flames and smoke burst out from the *Teresa* and the *Oquendo*. The fire leaped from the port-holes; and amid the din of battle and above it all, rose the wild cheers of the Americans, as both these splendid ships slowly reeled like drunken men and headed for the shore. "They are on fire! We've finished them," shouted the gunners. Down came the Spanish flags. The news went all over the ships—it being commanded by Commodore Schley to keep everyone informed, even those far below in the fire-rooms—and from engineers and firemen in the hot bowels of the great leviathans to the men in the fighting-tops the welkin rang until the ships reverberated with exuberant cheers.

In twenty-four minutes after the sinking of the *Teresa* and *Oquendo*, the *Vizcaya*, riddled by the *Oregon's* great shells and burning fiercely, hauled down her flag and headed for the shore, where she hung upon the rocks. In a dying effort, she had tried to ram the *Brooklyn*, but the fire of the big cruiser was too hot for her. The *Texas* and the little *Vixen* were seen to be about a mile

to the rear, and the *Vizcaya* was left to them and the *Iowa*, the latter staying by her finally, while the *Texas* and *Vixen* followed on.

It looked like a forlorn hope to catch the *Colon*. She was four and one-half miles away. But the *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* were running like express trains, and the *Texas* sped after the fugitives with all her might. The chase lasted two hours. Firing ceased, and every power of the ship and the nerve of commodore, captains, and officers were devoted to increasing the speed. Men from the guns, naked to the waist and perspiring in streams, were called on deck for rest and an airing. It was a grimy and dirty but jolly set of Jackies, and jokes were merrily cracked as they sped on and waited. Only the men in the fire-rooms were working as never before. It was their battle now, a battle of speed. At 12.30 it was seen the Americans were gaining, and the *Brooklyn*, a few minutes later, with 8-inch guns, began to pelt her sides. Everyone expected a game fight from the proud and splendid *Colon*, with her smokeless powder and rapid-fire guns; but all were surprised when, after a feeble resistance, at 1.15 o'clock, her captain struck his colors and ran his ship ashore sixty miles from Santiago, opening her sea-valves to sink her after she had surrendered.

VICTORY COMPLETE

Victory was at last complete. As the *Brooklyn* and *Oregon* moved upon the prey word of the surrender was sent below, and naked men poured out of the fire-rooms, black with smoke and dirt and glistening with perspiration, but wild with joy. Commodore Schley gazed down at the grimy, gruesome, joyous firemen with glistening eyes suspicious of tears, and said, in a husky voice, eloquent with emotion, "*Those are the fellows who made this day.*" Then he signaled—"The enemy has surrendered." The *Texas*, five miles to the east, repeated the signal to Admiral Sampson some miles further away, coming at top speed of the *New York*. Next the commodore signaled the admiral—"A glorious victory has been achieved. Details communicated later." And then to all the ships, "This is a great day for our country," all

of which were repeated by the *Texas* to the ships further east. The cheering was wild. Such a scene was never, perhaps, witnessed upon the ocean. Admiral Sampson arrived before the *Colon* sank, and placing the great nose of the *New York* against that vessel pushed her into shallow water, where she sank, but was not entirely submerged. Thus perished from the earth the bulk of the sea power of Spain.

The Spanish losses were 1,800 men killed, wounded, and made prisoners, and six ships destroyed or sunk, the property loss being about \$12,000,000. The American loss was one man killed and three wounded, all from the *Brooklyn*, a result little short of a miracle from the fact that the *Brooklyn* was hit thirty-six times, and nearly all the ships were struck more than once.

THE LAST BATTLE AND THE SURRENDER OF SANTIAGO

On July 8th and 10th the two expeditions of General Miles arrived, reinforcing General Shafter's army with over 6,000 men. General Toral was acquainted with the fact of their presence, and General Miles urgently impressed upon him that further resistance could but result in a useless loss of life. The Spanish commander replied that he and his men would die fighting. Accordingly a joint bombardment by the army and navy was begun. The artillery reply of the Spaniards was feeble and spiritless, though our attack on the city was chiefly with artillery. They seemed to depend most upon their small arms, and returned the volleys fired from the trenches vigorously. Our lines were elaborately protected with over 22,000 sand-bags, while the Spaniards were protected with bamboo poles filled with earth. In this engagement the dynamite gun of the Rough Riders did excellent service, striking the enemy's trenches and blowing field-pieces into the air. The bombardment continued until the afternoon of the second day, when a flag of truce was displayed over the city. It was thought that General Toral was about to surrender, but instead he only asked more time.

On the advice of General Miles, General Shafter consented to another truce, and, at last, on July 14th, after an interview with

General Miles and Shafter, in which he agreed to give up the city on condition that the army would be returned to Spain at the expense of America, General Toral surrendered. On July 16th the agreement with the formal approval of the Madrid and Washington governments, was signed in duplicate by the commissioners, each side retaining a copy. This event was accepted throughout the world as marking the end of the Spanish-American War.

THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES

After Dewey's victory at Manila, already referred to, it became evident that he must have the co-operation of an army in capturing and controlling the city. The insurgents under General Aguinaldo appeared anxious to assist Admiral Dewey, but it was feared that he could not control them. Accordingly, the big monitor *Monterey* was started for Manila and orders were given for the immediate outfitting of expeditions from San Francisco under command of Major-General Wesley Merritt. The first expedition consisted of between 2,500 and 3,000 troops, commanded by Brigadier-General Anderson, carried on three ships, the *Charleston*, the *City of Pekin*, and the *City of Sydney*. This was the longest expedition (about 6,000 miles) on which American troops were ever sent, and the men carried supplies to last a year. The *Charleston* got away on the 22d, and the other two vessels followed three days later. The expedition went through safely, arriving at Manila July 1st. The *Charleston* had stopped on June 21st at the Ladrone Islands and captured the island of Guam without resistance. The soldiers of the garrison were taken on as prisoners to Manila and a garrison of American soldiers left in charge, with the stars and stripes waving over the fortifications.

The second expedition of 3,500 men sailed June 15th under General Greene, who used the steamer *China* as his flagship. This expedition landed July 16th at Cavite in the midst of considerable excitement on account of the aggressive movements of the insurgents and the daily encounters and skirmishes between them and the Spanish forces.

On June 23d the monitor *Monadnoc* sailed to further reinforce Admiral Dewey, and four days later the third expedition of 4,000 troops under General McArthur passed out of the Golden Gate amid the cheers of the multitude, as the others had done ; and on the 29th General Merritt followed on the *Newport*. Nearly one month later, July 23d, General H. G. Otis, with 900 men, sailed on the *City of Rio de Janeiro* from San Francisco, thus making a total of nearly 12,000 men, all told, sent to the Philippine Islands.

General Merritt arrived at Cavite July 25th, and on July 29th the American forces advanced from Cavite toward Manila. On the 31st, while enroute, they were attacked at Malate by 3,000 Spaniards whom they repulsed, but sustained a loss of nine men killed and forty-seven wounded, nine of them seriously. This was the first loss of life on the part of the Americans in action in the Philippines. The Spanish casualties were much heavier. On the same day General McArthur's re-inforcements arrived at Cavite, and several days were devoted to preparations for a combined land and naval attack.

THE SURRENDER OF THE CITY DEMANDED

On August 7th Admiral Dewey and General Merritt demanded the surrender of the city within forty-eight hours, and foreign warships took their respective subjects on board for protection. On August 9th the Spaniards asked more time to hear from Madrid, but this was refused, and on the 13th a final demand was made for immediate surrender, which Governor-General Augusti refused and embarked with his family on board a German man-of-war, which sailed with him for Hong Kong. At 9.30 o'clock the bombardment began with fury, all the vessels sending hot shot at the doomed city.

In the midst of the bombardment by the fleet American soldiers under Generals McArthur and Greene were ordered to storm the Spanish trenches which extended ten miles around the city. The soldiers rose cheering and dashed for the Spanish earthworks. A deadly fire met them, but the men rushed on and swept the enemy from their outer defenses, forcing them to their

inner trenches. A second charge was made upon these, and the Spaniards retreated into the walled city, where they promptly sent up a white flag. The ships at once ceased firing, and the victorious Americans entered the city after six hours' fighting. General Merritt took command as military governor. The Spanish forces numbered 7,000 and the Americans 10,000 men. The loss to the Americans was about fifty killed, wounded, and missing, which was very small under the circumstances.

In the meantime the insurgents had formed a government with Aguinaldo as president. They declared themselves most friendly to American occupation of the islands, with a view to aiding them to establish an independent government, which they hoped would be granted to them. On September 15th they opened their republican congress at Malolos, and President Aguinaldo made the opening address, expressing warm appreciation of Americans and indulging the hope that they meant to establish the independence of the islands. On September 16th, however, in obedience to the command of General Otis, they withdrew their forces from the vicinity of Manila.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE PROTOCOL

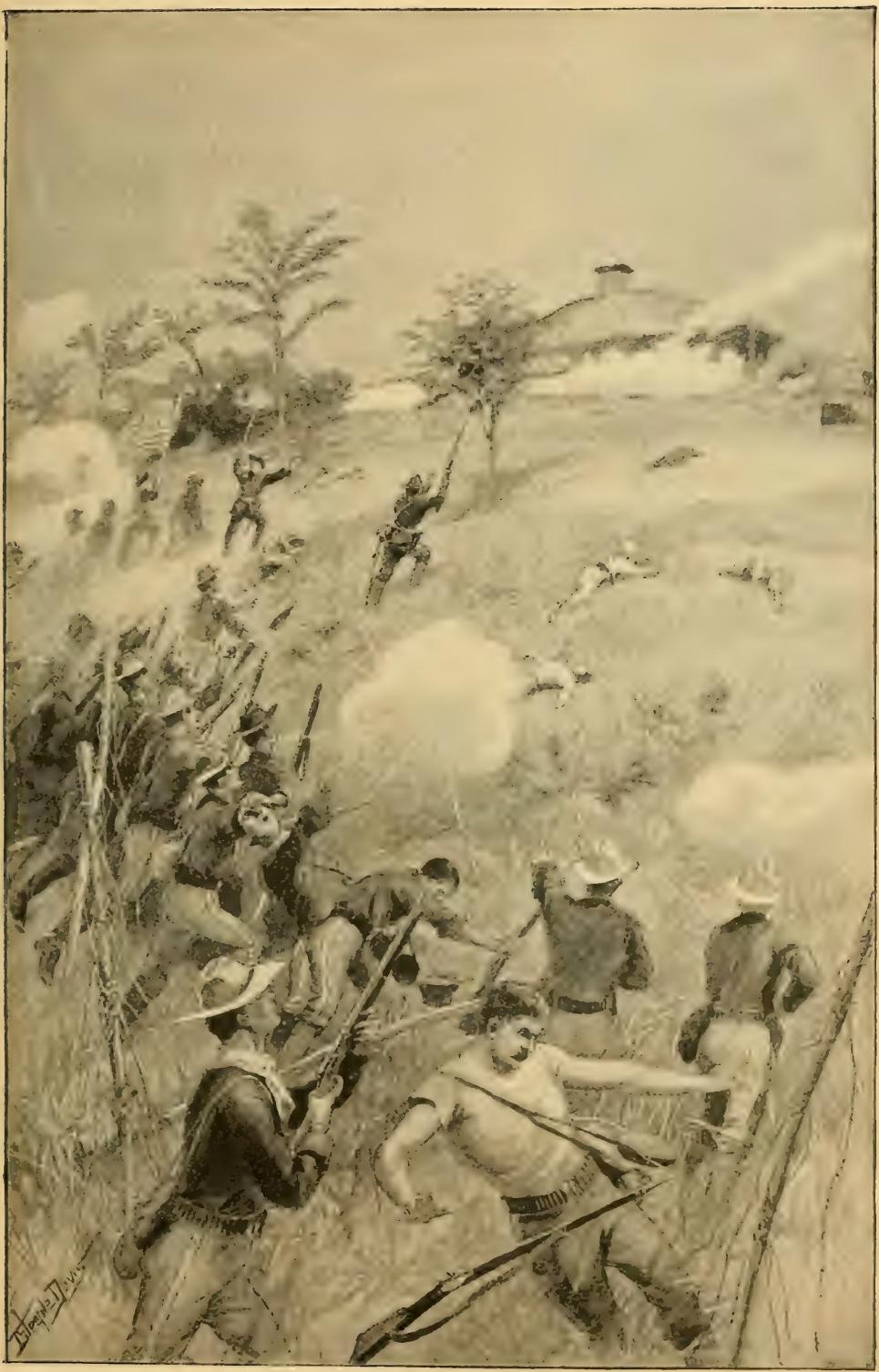
Precisely how to open the negotiations for peace was a delicate and difficult question. Its solution, however, proved easy enough when the attempt was made. During the latter part of July the Spanish government, through M. Jules Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, submitted a note, asking the United States government for a statement of the ground on which it would be willing to cease hostilities and arrange for a peaceable settlement. Accordingly, on July 30th, a statement, embodying President McKinley's views, was transmitted to Spain, and on August 2d Spain virtually accepted the terms by cable. On August 9th Spain's formal reply was presented by M. Cambon, and on the next day he and Secretary Day agreed upon terms of a protocol, to be sent to Spain for her approval. Two days later, the 12th inst., the French ambassador was authorized to sign the

protocol for Spain, and the signatures were affixed the same afternoon at the White House (M. Cambon signing for Spain and Secretary Day for the United States), in the presence of President McKinley and the chief assistants of the Department of State. The six main points covered by the protocol were as follows:

THE MAIN POINTS OF THE PROTOCOL

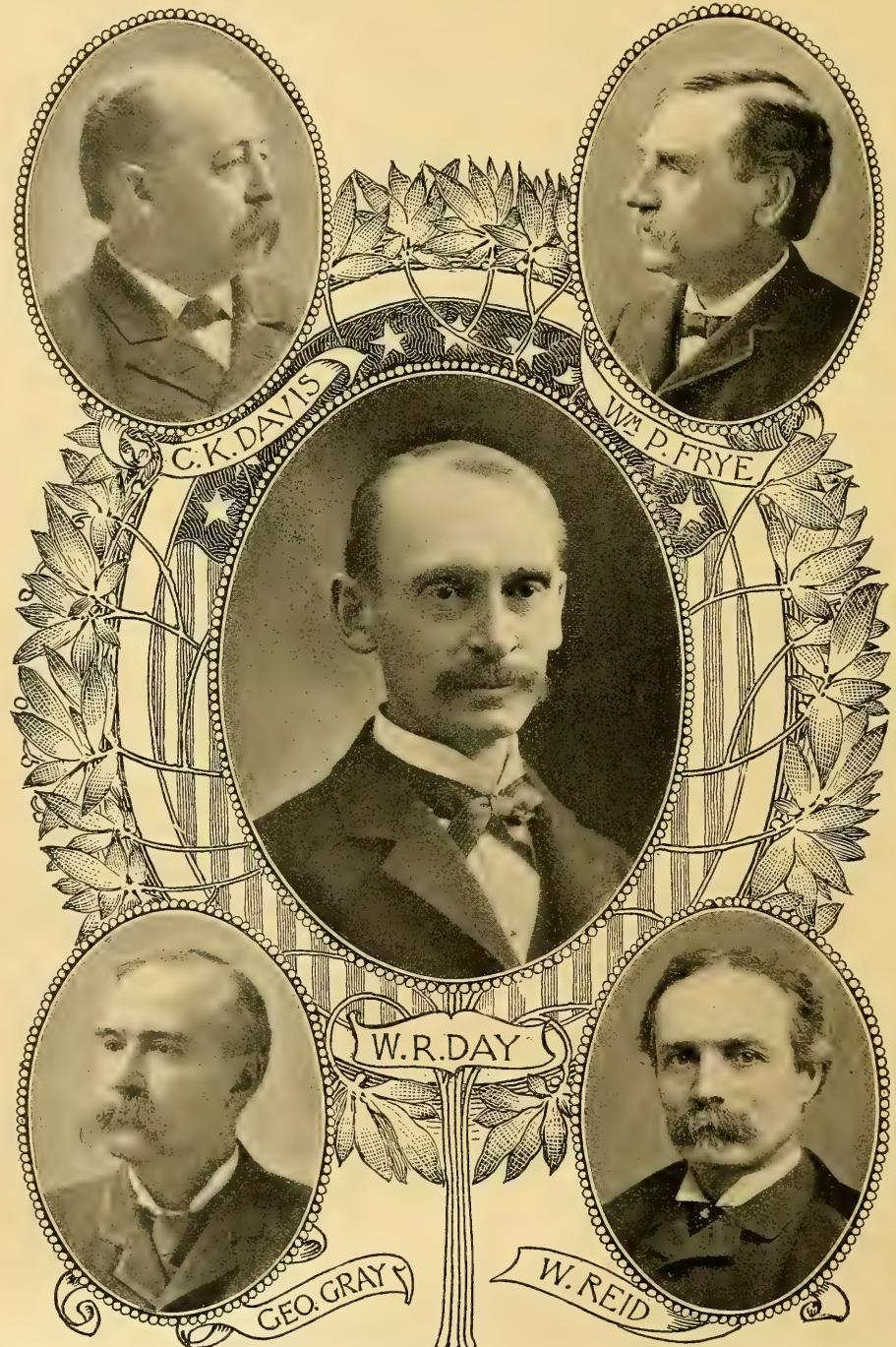
1. That Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.
2. That Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladrones, to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter.
3. That the United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.
4. That Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands in the West Indies shall be immediately evacuated, and that commissioners, to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the signing of the protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan, respectively, to arrange and execute the details of the evacuation.
5. That the United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace. The commissioners are to meet at Paris not later than October 1st.
6. On the signing of the protocol, hostilities will be suspended and notice to that effect be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

On the very same afternoon President McKinley issued a proclamation announcing on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities, and over the wires the word went ringing throughout the length and breadth of the land and under the ocean that peace was restored. The cable from Hong Kong to Manila, however, had not been repaired for use since Dewey had



AMERICANS STORMING SAN JUAN HILL

The most dramatic scene and the most destructive battle of the Spanish War



THE UNITED STATES PEACE COMMISSIONERS OF THE SPANISH WAR

Appointed September 9, 1898. Met Spanish Commissioners at Paris, October 1st. Treaty of Peace, signed by the Commissioners at Paris, December 10th. Ratified by the United States Senate at Washington, February 6, 1899.

cut it in May; consequently it was several days before tidings could reach General Merritt and Admiral Dewey; and meantime the battle of Manila, which occurred on the 13th, was fought.

President McKinley appointed as the National Peace Commission, Secretary of State Wm. R. Day, Senator Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, Senator Wm. P. Frye of Maine, Senator George Gray of Delaware, and Mr. Whitelaw Reid of New York. Secretary Day resigned his State portfolio September 16th, in which he was succeeded by Colonel John Hay, former Ambassador to England. With ex-Secretary Day at their head the Americans sailed from New York, September 17th, met the Spanish Commissioners at Paris, France, as agreed, and arranged the details of the final peace between the two nations. Thus ended the Spanish-American War.

THE TREATY OF PEACE

December 10, 1898, was one of the most eventful days in the past decade—one fraught with great interest to the world, and involving the destiny of more than 10,000,000 of people. At 9 o'clock on the evening of that day the Commissioners of the United States and those of Spain met for the last time, after about eleven weeks of deliberation, in the magnificent apartments of the foreign ministry at the French capital, and signed the Treaty of Peace, which finally marked the end of the Spanish-American War.

This treaty transformed the political geography of the world by establishing the United States' authority in both hemispheres, and also in the tropics, where it had never before extended. It, furthermore, brought under our dominion and obligated us for the government of strange and widely isolated peoples, who have little or no knowledge of liberty and government as measured by the American standards.

On January 3, 1899, the Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, delivered the Treaty of Peace to President McKinley, who, on January 4th, forwarded the same to the Senate of the United States and after careful consideration was ratified.

The Queen Regent of Spain signed the ratification of the Treaty of Peace on March 17, 1899, and the final act took place on the afternoon of April 11th, when copies of the final protocol were exchanged at Washington by President McKinley and the French ambassador, M. Cambon, representing Spain. The President immediately issued a proclamation of peace, and thus the Spanish-American War came to an official end. A few weeks later the sum of \$20,000,000 was paid to Spain, in accordance with the treaty, as partial compensation for the surrender of her rights in the Philippines, and diplomatic relations between the Latin kingdom and the United States were resumed.

The territory which passes under the control of our government by the above treaty of peace has a combined area of about 168,000 square miles, equal to nine good States. It all lies within the tropics, where hitherto not an acre of our country has extended; and, for that reason, its acquisition is of the greatest commercial significance. These islands produce all tropical fruits, plants, spices, timbers, etc. Their combined population is upwards of 10,000,000 people, and among this vast number there are few manufactories of any kind. They are consumers or prospective consumers of all manufactured goods; they require the products of the temperate zone, and in return everything they produce is marketable in our country.

EVACUATION OF CUBA AND PORTO RICO

The Spanish forces withdrew from Cuba, December 31, 1898, and, on the following day, the Stars and Stripes was hoisted over Havana. The change of sovereignties in Porto Rico took place without trouble, but there has been some disturbance in Cuba, and it is evident that considerable time must elapse before peace will be fully restored and a stable government established in the island.

Though the war with Spain was closed, serious trouble broke out in the Philippines. Aguinaldo, who had headed most of the rebellions against Spain during the later years, refused to acknowledge the authority of the United States, and, rallying

thousands of Filipinos around him, set on foot what he claimed was a war of independence. Our government sent a strong force of regulars and volunteers thither, all of whom acquitted themselves with splendid heroism and bravery, and defeated the rebels repeatedly, capturing strongholds one after the other, and, in fact, driving everything resistlessly before them. The fighting was of the sharpest kind, and our troops had many killed and wounded, though that of the enemy was tenfold greater. All such struggles, however, when American valor and skill are arrayed on one side, can have but one result; and, animated by our sense of duty, which demanded that a firm, equitable, and just government should be established in the Philippines, this beneficent purpose was certain to be attained in the end.

DEWEY MADE ADMIRAL

On March 3, 1899, President McKinley nominated Rear-Admiral George Dewey to the rank of full admiral, his commission to date from March 2d, and the Senate immediately and unanimously confirmed the nomination, which had been so richly earned. This hero, as modest as he is great, remained in the Philippines to complete his herculean task, instead of seizing the first opportunity to return home and receive the overwhelming honors which his countrymen were eagerly waiting to show him. Finally, when his vast work was virtually completed and his health showed evidence of the terrific and long-continued strain to which it had been subjected, he turned over his command, by direction of the government, to Rear-Admiral Watson, and, proceeding by a leisurely course, reached home in the autumn of 1899. The honors showered upon him by his grateful and admiring countrymen proved not only his clear title to the foremost rank among the greatest naval heroes of ancient and modern times, but attested the truth that the United States is not ungrateful, and that there is no reward too exalted for her to bestow upon those who have worthily won it.

CHAPTER XVII.

Our New Possessions

The Islands of Hawaii—Their Inhabitants and Products—
History of Cuba—Its Geography and Productions—Porto
Rico—Its People and Productions—The Philippines—
Their Location, Discovery and History—The
Ladrone Islands.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, “THE PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC.”

THE annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, by a joint vote of Congress, July 7, 1898, marks a new era in the history of our country. It practically sounded the death-knell of the conservative doctrine of non-expansion beyond our own natural physical boundaries. The only precedent approaching this act, in our history, is the annexation of Texas. The Louisiana Territory, Florida, and Alaska were acquired by purchase; California, New Mexico, and a part of Colorado were obtained by cession from Mexico; Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Idaho by treaty with Great Britain. Texas alone was annexed. The fact, however, that it was a republic is the only circumstance which makes its case analogous to that of Hawaii. Texas lay between two large nations, and was obliged to seek union with one of them. It was within our own continent and inhabited largely by our own people. Hawaii marks our first advance into foreign lands, and ranges America for the first time among the nations whose policy is that of expansion, by territorial extensions, over the globe.

Hawaii is called the “Paradise of the Pacific,” and there is little doubt that its climate, fertility and healthfulness justify the name. It is one of the few spots upon earth where one can almost,

to use a slang phrase, "touch the button" and obtain any kind of weather he desires. Mark Twain's suggestion to those who go to these islands to find a congenial clime is about as practical as it is humorous—"Select your climate, mark your thermometer at the temperature desired, and climb until the mercury stops there." Everyone who visits Hawaii is charmed with the country, and never forgets its novelty, stupendous and delightful scenery, clear atmosphere, gorgeous sunlight, and profusion of fruits and flowers.

DISCOVERY AND LOCATION

Captain Cook discovered the islands in January, 1778, and named them the Sandwich Islands, after Lord Sandwich; but the native name, Hawaii, is more generally used. There is good evidence that Juan Gaetano, in the year 1555—223 years before Cook's visit—landed upon their shores. Old Spanish charts and the traditions of the natives bear out this theory, but they were not made known to the world until Cook visited them. It is popularly believed that the original inhabitants of Hawaii came from New Zealand, though that island is some 4,000 miles southwest of them. The physical appearance of the people is very similar, and their languages are so much alike that a native Hawaiian and a native New Zealander, meeting for the first time, can carry on a conversation. Their ideas of the Deity and some of their religious customs are nearly the same. That the islands have been peopled for a long time is proven by the fact that human bones are found under lava beds and coral reefs where geologists declare they have lain for at least 1,300 years.

There are eight inhabited islands in the archipelago, Hawaii, Maui, Kahoolawi, Lanai, Molokai, Oahu, Kauai, and Niihau, comprising an area of 6,700 square miles, a little less than that of the State of New Jersey, and about 500 miles greater than the combined areas of Rhode Island and Connecticut. They extend from northwest to southeast, over a distance of about 380 miles, the several islands being separated by channels varying in width from six to sixty miles. They lie entirely within the tropics, not far

from a direct line between San Francisco and Japan, 2,080 miles from San Francisco, which is nearer to them than any other point of land, except one of the Carolines. The largest and most southern island is Hawaii, which has given its name to the group.

THE HIGHEST AND LARGEST VOLCANOES.

The entire archipelago is of volcanic origin, but there are no active craters to be found at the present time, except two, on the island of Hawaii. Mauna Loa is the highest volcano in the world, being nearly 14,000 feet above the sea. It has an immense crater: but, while it still sends forth smoke and has a lake of molten lava at the bottom, there have been no eruptions for a number of years. Kilauea, the largest active volcano on the globe, is about sixteen miles from Mauna Loa, on one of its foothills, 4,000 feet above the sea, and is in a constant state of activity. Its last great eruption occurred in 1894. This volcano was described by the missionary Ellis in the year 1823, and hundreds of tourists visit it every year. Its crater is nine miles in circumference and several hundred feet deep. Under the conduct of competent guides, the tourists descend into the crater and walk over the cool lava in places, while near them the hot flame and molten lava are spouting to the height of hundreds of feet.

The largest extinct volcano in the archipelago is on the island of Maui, the bottom of the crater measuring sixteen square miles. All of these stupendous volcanic mountains rise so gently on the western side that horsemen easily ride to their summits.

INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND.

When Cook visited Hawaii, he found the islands inhabited, according to his estimate, by 400,000 natives. Forty years later, when the census was taken, there were 142,000. These diminished one-half during the next fifty years, and the native population of the islands in 1897 was only 31,019. The total population by the last census, when the islands became a part of the United States, was 109,020, made up, in addition to the natives mentioned, of

24,407 Japanese, 21,616 Chinese, 12,191 Portuguese, and 3,086 Americans. The remainder were half-castes from foreign intermarriage with the natives, together with a small representation from England, Germany and other European countries.

That the original Hawaiians must soon become extinct as a pure race is evident, though they have never been persecuted or maltreated. They are a handsome, strong-looking people, with a rich dark complexion, jet black eyes, wavy hair, full voluptuous lips, and teeth of snowy whiteness; but they are constitutionally weak, easily contract and quickly succumb to disease, and the only hope of perpetuating their blood seems to lie in mixing it by intermarriage with other races.

OLD TIMES IN HAWAII

Prior to 1795, all the islands had separate kings, but in that and the following year the great king of Hawaii, Kamehameha, with cannon that he procured from Vancouver's ships, assaulted and subjugated all the surrounding kings, and since that time the islands have been under one government. Previous to this, the natives had been at war, according to their traditions, for 300 years. The fierceness of their hand-to-hand conflicts, as described by their historians, has probably not been surpassed by those of any other people in the world. The four descendants of Kamehameha reigned until 1872, when the last of his line died childless. A new king was elected, who died within a year, and another was then elected by the people. It was to this line that Queen Liliuokalani belonged, and she was deposed by the revolution of 1893, led by the American and European residents upon the islands. These patriots set up a provisional government and made repeated application for admission to the United States, the tender of the islands being finally accepted by a joint vote of Congress on July 7, 1898, since which time the Hawaiian Islands have been a part of our country.

The manners and customs of the native Hawaiians are most interesting, but space forbids a description of them here. Their

religion was a gross form of idolatry, with many gods. Human sacrifice was freely practiced. They deified dead chiefs and worshiped their bones. The great king, Kamehameha I, though an idolater, was a most progressive monarch, and invited Vancouver, who went there in 1794, taking swine, cattle, sheep, and horses, together with oranges and other valuable plants, to bring over teachers and missionaries to teach his people "the white man's religion."

THE WORK OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES

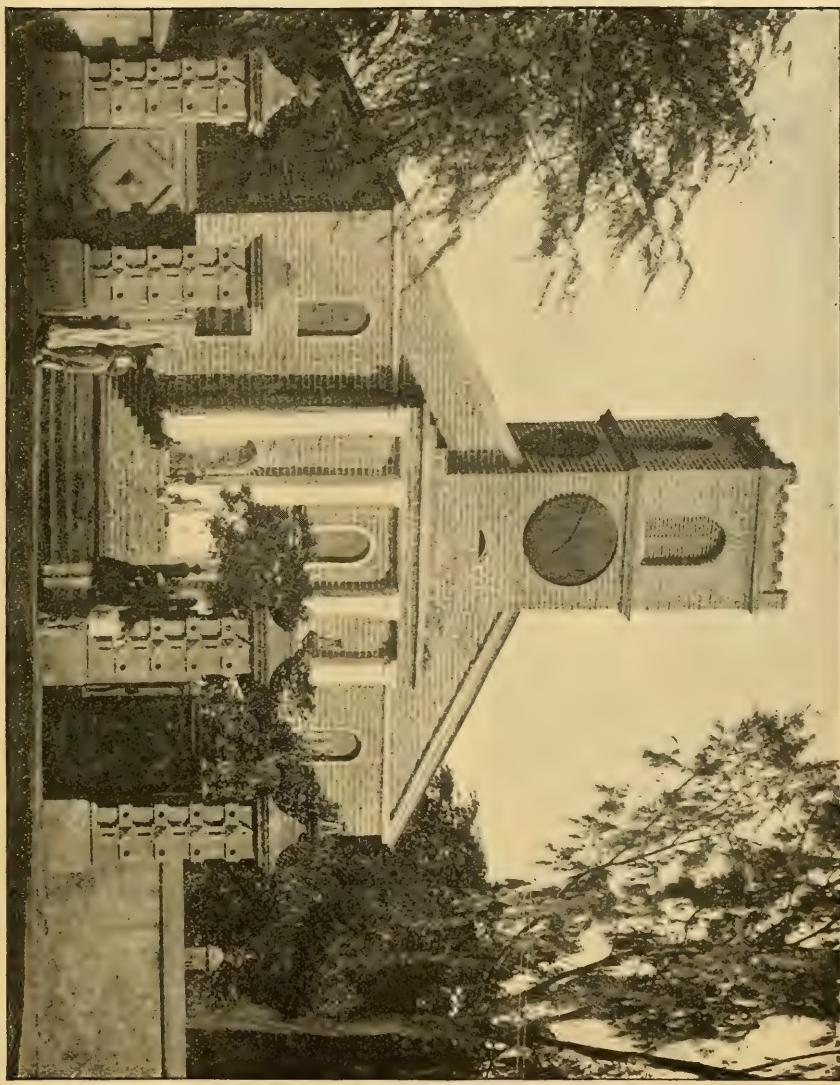
But it was not until 1820, after the death of the great king, that the first missionaries arrived, and they came from America. The year previous, in 1819, Kamehameha II. had destroyed many of the temples and idols, and forbidden idol worship in the islands; consequently, when the missionaries arrived they beheld the unprecedented spectacle of a nation without a religion. The natives were rapidly converted to Christianity. It was these American missionaries who first reduced the Hawaiian language to writing, established schools and taught the natives. As a result of their work, the Hawaiians are the most generally educated people, in the elementary sense, in the world. There is hardly a person in the islands, above the age of 8 years, who cannot read and write. In spite of education, however, many of the ancient superstitions still exist, and some of the old stone temples are yet standing. What the United States will do with these heathen temples remains to be seen. The natives revere them as relics of their savage history, and as such they may be preserved.

PRODUCTS AND COMMERCE

Sugar is king in Hawaii as wheat is in the Northwest. In 1890 there were 19,000 laborers—nearly one-fifth of the total population—engaged on sugar plantations. Ten tons to the acre have been raised on the richest lands. The average is over four tons per acre, but it requires from eighteen to twenty months for a crop to mature. Rice growing is also an important industry. It is raised in marsh lands, and nearly all the labor is done by Chinese, though they do

CHURCH IN HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Built of lava stone. Seating capacity about 3000.





ENTRANCE TO THE PUBLIC GROUNDS, HAVANA, CUBA



MAGNIFICENT INDIAN STATUE IN THE FRADO, HAVANA, CUBA

not own the land. Coffee is happily well suited to the soil that is unfitted for sugar and rice, and the Hawaiian coffee is particularly fine, combining the strength of the Java with a delicate flavor of its own.

Diversified farming is coming more into vogue. Fruit raising will undoubtedly become one of the most important branches when fast steamers are provided for its transportation. Sheep and cattle raising must also prove profitable, since the animals require little feeding and need no housing.

Almost all kinds of vegetables and fruits can be raised, many of those belonging to the temperate zones thriving on the elevated mountain slopes. Fruit is abundant; the guava grows wild in all the islands, and were the manufacture of jelly made from it carried on, on a large scale, the product could doubtless be exported with profit. Both bananas and pineapples are prolific, and there are many fruits and vegetables, which as yet have been raised only for local trade, which would, if cultivated for export, bring in rich returns.

Of the total exports from the Hawaiian Islands in 1895, the United States received 99.04 per cent., and in the same year 79.04 per cent. of the imports to the islands were from the United States. The total value of the sugar sent to the United States in 1896 was \$14,932,010; of rice, \$194,003; of coffee, \$45,444; and of bananas, \$121,273.

THE CHIEF CITY

Honolulu, the capital city, is to Hawaii what Havana is to Cuba, or better, what Manila is to the Philippine Islands. Here are concentrated the business, political and social forces that control the life and progress of the entire archipelago. This city of 30,000 inhabitants is situated on the south coast of Oahu, and extends up the Nuuanu Valley. It is well provided with street-car lines—which also run to a bathing resort four miles outside the city—a telephone system, electric lights, numerous stores, churches and schools, a library of over 10,000 volumes, and frequent steam communication with San Francisco. There are papers published in the

English, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese languages, and a railroad is being built, of which thirty miles along the coast are already completed. Honolulu has also a well-equipped fire department and public water-works. The residence portions of the city are well laid out, the houses, many of which are very handsome, being surrounded by gardens kept green throughout the year. The climate is mild and even, and the city is a delightful and a beautiful place of residence. Hawaii is peculiarly an agricultural country, and Honolulu gains its importance solely as a distributing centre or depot of supplies. Warehouses, lumber yards, and commercial houses abound, but there is a singular absence of mills and factories and productive establishments. There are no metals or minerals, or as yet, textile plants or food plants, whose manufacture is undertaken in this unique city.

The Hawaiian Islands are, without question, on the threshold of a great industrial era, fraught with most potent results to the prosperity and development of that land. Its climate is delightful and healthful, and its soil so fertile that it will easily support 5,000,000 people.

CUBA, "THE CHILD OF OUR ADOPTION."

Although Cuba is not a part or a possession of the United States, it has since the war with Spain, in 1898, come under the protection of this government, and is, therefore, entitled to a place in this volume. In the hand of Providence, this island became the doorway to America. It was here that Columbus landed.

In 1494 Columbus visited Cuba a second time, and once again in 1502. In 1511 Diego Columbus, the son of the great discoverer, with a colony of between three and four hundred Spaniards, came, and in 1514 he founded the towns of Santiago and Trinidad. Five years later, in 1519, the present capital, Havana, or *Habana*, was founded. The French reduced the city in 1538, practically demolishing the whole town. Under the governor, De Soto, it was rebuilt and fortified, the famous Morro Castle and the Punta, which are still standing, being built at that early date.

After the extermination of the natives, Cuba rested without a struggle in the arms of Spain. The early settlers engaged almost wholly in pastoral pursuits. Tobacco was indigenous to the soil, and in 1580 the Cuban planters began its culture. Later, sugar-cane was imported from the Canaries, and found to be a fruitful and profitable crop. The beginning of the culture of sugar demanded more laborers, and the importation of additional slaves was the result. In 1717, Spain attempted to make a monopoly of the tobacco culture, and the first Cuban revolt occurred. In 1723 a second uprising took place, because of an oppressive government; but these early revolts against tyranny were insignificant as compared with those of the last half-century.

CITY OF HAVANA CAPTURED BY THE ENGLISH

In 1762, the city of Havana was captured by the English, with an expedition commanded by Lord Albemarle, but his fighting troops were principally Americans under the immediate command of Generals Phineas Lyman and Israel Putnam of Revolutionary fame. By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Cuba was unfortunately restored to Spain, and it was afterward that her troubles with the "Mother Country," as Spain affectionately called herself to all her provinces, began. The hand of oppression for one and a quarter centuries relaxed not its grasp, and year by year grew heavier and more galling.

In the spring of 1898 the United States intervened. The story of our war with Spain for Cuba's freedom is elsewhere related.

Spain has paid dearly for her supremacy in Cuba during the last third of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the fact that the revenue from Cuba for several years prior to the Ten Years' War of 1868-78 amounted to \$26,000,000 annually—about \$18 for every man, woman and child in the island—\$20,000,000 of it was absorbed in Spain's official circles at Havana, and "the other \$6,000,000 that the Spanish government received," says one historian, "was hardly enough to pay transportation rates on the help

that the mother country had to send to her army of occupation." Consequently, despite this enormous tax, a heavy debt accumulated on account of the island, even before the Ten Years' War began.

FEARFUL COST OF WAR

At the close of the Ten Years' War (1878) Spain had laid upon the island a public debt of \$200,000,000, and required her to raise \$39,000,000 of revenue annually, an average at that time of nearly \$30 per inhabitant. But Spain's own debt had also increased to nearly \$2,000,000,000, and during this Ten Years' War she had sent 200,000 soldiers and her favorite commanders to the island, only about 50,000 of whom ever returned. According to our Consular Report of July, 1898, when the last revolution began, 1895, the Cuban debt had reached \$295,707,264. The interest on this alone imposed a burden of \$9.79 per annum upon each inhabitant. During the war, Spain had 200,000 troops in the island, and the three and one-half years' conflict cost her the loss of nearly 100,000 lives, mostly from sickness, and, as yet, unknown millions of dollars. The real figures of the loss of life and treasure seem incredible when we consider that Cuba is not larger than our State of Pennsylvania, and that her entire population at the beginning of the war was about one-fourth that of the State named, or a little less than that of the city of Chicago alone. Yet Spain, with an army larger than the combined northern and southern forces at the battle of Gettysburg, was unable to overcome the insurgents, who had never more than one-fourth as many men enlisted. But she harassed, tortured, and starved to death within three years, perhaps, over 500,000 non-combatant citizens in her attempt to subjugate the patriots, and was in a fair way to depopulate the whole island when the United States at last intervened to succor them.

What the future of Cuba may be under new conditions of government remains to be seen. Certainly, in all the world's history few sadder or more devastated lands have gathered their remnants of population upon the ashes of their ruins and turned a hopeful face to the future.

But the soil, the mineral and the timber not even Spanish tyranny could destroy ; and in these lie the hope, we might say the sure guarantee, of Cuba's future. In wealth of resources and fertility of soil, Cuba is superior to all other tropical countries, and these fully justify its right to the title " Pearl of the Antilles," first given it by Columbus. Under a wise and secure government, its possibilities are almost limitless. Owing to its location at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, which it divides into the Yucatan and Florida channels, on the south and north, the island has been termed the " Key to the Gulf of Mexico," and on its coat of arms is emblazoned a key, as if to imply its ability to open or close this great sea to the commerce of the world.

THE FUTURE OF THE ISLAND

Cuba extends from east to west 760 miles, is 21 miles wide in its narrowest part and 111 miles in the widest, with an average width of sixty miles. It has numerous harbors, which afford excellent anchorage. The area of the island proper is 41,655 square miles (a little larger than the State of Ohio;) and including the Isle of Pines and other small points around its entire length, numbering in all some 1,200, there are 47,278 square miles altogether in Cuba and belonging to it. The island is intersected by broken ranges of mountains, which gradually increase in height from west to east, where they reach an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet. The central and western portions of the island are the most fertile, while the principal mineral deposits are in the mountains of the eastern end. In Matanzas and other central provinces, the well-drained, gently sloping plains, diversified by low, forest-clad hills, are especially adapted to sugar culture, and the country under normal conditions presents the appearance of vast fields of cane. The western portion of the island is also mountainous, but the elevations are not great, and in the valleys and along the fertile slopes of this district is produced the greater part of the tobacco for which the island is famous.

The soil of the whole island seems well-nigh inexhaustible. Except in tobacco culture, fertilizers are never used. In the sugar districts are found old cane-fields that have produced annual crops for a hundred years without perceptible impoverishment of the soil. Besides sugar and tobacco, the island yields Indian corn, rice, manioc (the plant from which tapioca is prepared), oranges, bananas, pineapples, mangoes, guava, and all other tropical fruits, with many of those belonging to the temperate zone. Raw sugar, molasses, and tobacco are the chief products, and, with fruits, nuts, and unmanufactured woods, form the bulk of exports, though coffee culture, formerly active, is now being revived, and its fine quality indicates that it must in time become one of the most important products of the island.

FERTILITY OF SOIL AND ITS PRODUCTS

As a sugar country, Cuba takes first rank in the world. Mr. Gallon, the English Consul, in his report to his government in 1897 upon this Cuban crop, declared: "Of the other cane-sugar countries of the world, Java is the only one which comes within 50 per cent. of the amount of sugar produced annually in Cuba in normal times, and Java and the Hawaiian Islands are the only ones which are so generally advanced in the process of manufacture." Our own Consul, Hyatt, in his report of February, 1897, expresses the belief that Cuba is equal to supplying the entire demands of the whole western hemisphere with sugar—a market for 4,000,000 tons or more, and requiring a crop four times as large as the island has ever yet produced. Those who regard this statement as extravagant should remember that Cuba, although founded and settled more than fifty years before the United States, has nearly 14,000,000 acres of uncleared primeval forest-land, and is capable of easily supporting a population more than ten times that of the present. In fact, the island of Java, not so rich as Cuba, and of very nearly the same area, with less tillable land, has over 22,000,000 inhabitants as against Cuba's—perhaps at this time—not more than 1,200,000 souls.

The mineral resources of Cuba are second in importance to its agricultural products. Gold and silver are not believed to exist in paying quantities, but its most valuable mineral, copper, seems to be almost inexhaustible. The iron and manganese mines, in the vicinity of Santiago, are of great importance, the ores being rated among the finest in the world. Deposits of asphalt and mineral oils are also found.

The third resource of Cuba in importance is its forest product. Its millions of acres of unbroken woodlands are rich in valuable hard woods, suitable for the finest cabinet-work and ship-building, and also furnish many excellent dye woods. Mahogany, cedar, rosewood, and ebony abound. The palm, of which there are thirty odd species found in the island, is one of the most characteristic and valuable of Cuban trees.

CITIES AND COMMERCE, SEASONS AND CLIMATE

The commerce of Cuba has been great in the past, but Spanish laws made it expensive and oppressive to the Cubans. Its location and resources, with wise government, assure to the island an enormous trade in the future. There are already four cities of marked importance to the commercial world: Havana with a population of 250,000, Santiago with 71,000, Matanzas with 29,000, and Cienfuegos with 30,000, are all seaport cities with excellent harbors, and all do a large exporting business. Add to these Cardenas with 25,000, Trinidad with 18,000, Manzanillo with 10,000, and Guantanamo and Baracoa, each with 7,000 inhabitants, we have an array of ten cities such as few strictly farming countries of like size possess. Aside from cigar and cigarette making, there is little manufacturing in Cuba; but fruit canneries, sugar refineries, and various manufacturing industries for the consumption of native products will rapidly follow in the steps of good government. Hence, in the field of manufacturing this island offers excellent inducements to capital.

Like all tropical countries, Cuba has but two seasons, the wet and the dry. The former extends from May to October, June,

July, and August being the most rainy months. The dry season lasts from November to May. This fact must go far toward making the island more and more popular as a winter health resort. The interior of the island is mountainous, and always pleasantly cool at night, while on the highlands the heat in the day is less oppressive than in New York and Pennsylvania during the hottest summer weather; consequently, when once yellow fever, which now ravages the coasts of the island on account of its defective sanitation, is extirpated, as it doubtless will be under the new order of things, Cuba will become the seat of many winter homes for wealthy residents of the United States. Even in the summer, the temperature seldom rises above 90°, while the average for the year is 77°. At no place, except in the extreme mountainous altitude, is it ever cold enough for frost.

THE EVACUATION OF HAVANA

The complete transfer of authority in the island of Cuba from Spain to the United States took place on Sunday, January 1, 1899. At noon on that day Captain-General Castellanos and staff met the representatives of the United States in the hall of his palace, and with due formality and marked Spanish courtesy, in the name of the King and Queen Regent of Spain, delivered possession of Cuba to General Wade, head of the American Evacuation Committee, and he in turn transferred the same to General Brooke, who had been appointed by President McKinley as Military Governor of the Division of Cuba. No unpleasant incident marred the occasion. General Castellanos spoke with evident yet becoming emotion on so important an occasion. Three Cuban Generals were present, who, at General Castellanos' request, were presented to him, and the Spaniard said, with marked grace and evident sincerity, "I am sorry, gentlemen, that we are enemies, being of the same blood;" to which one of the Cuban patriots courteously responded, with commendable charity, "We fought only for Cuba, and now that she is free we are no longer enemies."

The formal transfer had scarcely taken place within the palace hall when the flag of Spain was lowered from Morro Castle, Cabanas Fortress, and all the public buildings, and the stars and stripes instantly arose in its place on the flag-poles of these old and historic buildings. As its graceful folds floated gently out upon the breeze, the crowds from the streets cheered, the band played the most appropriate of all airs, while voices in many places in the throng, catching up the tune, sang the inspiring words of the "Star-Spangled Banner."

BEAUTIFUL PORTO RICO

It was in November of the year 1493, on his second voyage to the New World, that Columbus landed upon a strange island in quest of water for his ships. He found it in abundance, and called the place *Aquadilla*—the watering place. As he had done at Cuba the year before, the great discoverer held pleasant conferences with the natives, and with due ceremony took possession of the island for his benefactors and sovereigns—Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. From that day until it was ceded to the United States in 1898, as a result of the Spanish-American War, Porto Rico remained one of the most attractive and valuable of Spain's West Indian possessions. The simple and friendly natives gladly welcomed their Spanish invaders, who, with the same promptness which was manifested in Cuba, proceeded to enslave and exterminate them.

THE ISLAND AND ITS POPULATION

Porto Rico is at once the most healthful and most densely populated island of the West Indies. It is almost rectangular in form—100 miles long and 36 broad. Its total area is about 3,600 square miles—a little larger than the combined areas of Rhode Island and Delaware. Its population, unlike that of Cuba, has greatly increased within the last fifty years. In 1830, it numbered 319,000; in 1887, 813,937—about 220 people to the square mile, a density which few states of the Union can equal. About half of its population are negroes or mulattoes, who were introduced by the Spaniards as slaves in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Among the people of European origin the most numerous are the Spaniards, with many Germans, Swedes, Danes, Russians, Frenchmen, Chuetos (descendants from the Moorish Jews), and natives of the Canary Islands. There are also a number of Chinese, while the Gibaros, or small land-holders and day-laborers of the country districts, are a curious old Spanish cross with the aboriginal Indian blood. In this class the aborigines are more fortunate than the original Cubans in having even a trace of their blood preserved.

The island is said to be capable of easily supporting three times its present population, the soil is so universally fertile and its resources are so well diversified. Though droughts occur in certain parts of the island, it is all extremely well watered, by more than 1,000 streams, enumerated on the maps, and the dry sections have a system of irrigation which may be operated very effectually and with little expense. Of the 1,300 streams, forty-seven are considerable rivers.

TIMBER IN ABUNDANCE AND VARIETY

Forests still cover all the elevated parts of the hill country of the interior, the inhabitants living mostly along the coast. The main need to set the interior teeming with a thrifty and healthy population is a system of good roads. The interior, with the exception of a few extensive savannas, is one vast expanse of rounded hills, covered with such rich soil that they may be cultivated to their summits. At present these forests are accessible only by mule tracks. "The timber of the island," says our official report, "comprises more than 500 varieties of trees, and in the more elevated regions the vegetation of the temperate zones is not unknown. On the hills is found a luxuriant and diversified vegetation, tree-ferns and mountain palms being abundant. At a lower level grow many varieties of trees noted for their useful woods, such as the mahogany, cedar, walnut and laurel. The mambee, guaiacum, and copal, besides other trees and shrubs valuable for their gum, flourish in all parts of the island. The coffee tree and

sugar cane, both of which grow well at an altitude of a 1,000 feet or more, were introduced into the island—the former from Martinique in 1722, the latter from the Canaries, through Santo Domingo. Tobacco grows easily in the lowlands, while maize, pineapples, bananas, etc., are all prolific. The banana and plantain bear fruit within ten months after planting, and, like the cocoa palm, live through an ordinary lifetime."

MINERALS AND MINING

"The mineral resources of the island," says our consul in his report, "have been very little developed, the only mineral industry of any importance being the salt works situated at Guanica, Salinas, and Cabo Rojo. Sulphides of copper and magnetic oxides of iron are found in large quantities, and formerly gold to a considerable extent was found in many of the streams. At present the natives still wash out nuggets by the crude process in use in the time of Ponce de Leon. Marble, carbonates, lignite, and amber are also present in varying quantities, and hot springs and mineral waters occur, the best known ones being at Coamo, near Santa Isabel."

COMMERCE

The commerce of Porto Rico amounted, in 1896, to \$36,624,120, exceeding the records of all previous years; the increase, no doubt being largely due to the unsettled condition of Cuba. The value of the exports for the same year was, for the first time for more than a decade, slightly in excess of that of the imports; the former being valued at \$18,341,430, the latter at \$18,282,690. The chief exports from the island are agricultural products. The principal articles are sugar, coffee, molasses, and tobacco; while rice, wheat, flour and manufactured articles are among the chief imports. The value of the sugar and molasses exported to the United States during the ten years from 1888 to 1897 made up 95 per cent. of the total value of the exports to that country. Fruits, nuts, and spices are also exported to a small extent. Of the non-agricultural exports the most important are perfumery and cosmetics; chemicals, drugs, and dyes; unmanufactured wood, and salt.

The leading article of import from the United States is wheat flour. Corn and meal, bread, biscuit, meats, dairy products, wood and its manufactures, iron, steel, etc., are also imported.

CITIES AND TOWNS

San Juan, the capital, is situated on an island off the northern coast of the mainland, with which it is now connected by the San Antonio bridge. The city is a perfect specimen of a walled and fortified town, with Moro Castle crowning the promontory at the western extremity of the island. The population, including the inhabitants of Marina and Puerta de Tierra, as well as those within the city walls, was estimated in 1896 at 30,000, and consists largely of negroes and of mixed races. Owing to the lack of a good water supply, and the general unsanitary conditions which prevail, the city is unhealthy. The houses are all of two stories, the poorer inhabitants occupying the ground floor, while those better off live above them. There is no running water in the city, the inhabitants being dependent for their supply upon the rainfall which is caught on the flat roofs of the houses and stored in cisterns, and in dry seasons the supply is entirely exhausted. The city is built upon clay mixed with lime packed hard and impervious to water. Its manufactures are of small importance.

The city of Ponce, with a population of 37,500, and in commercial importance the second city of Porto Rico, is situated two miles from the coast in the southern part of the island. With an ample water supply conveyed to the city by an aqueduct it is, perhaps, the healthiest town on the island. Playa, its port, having a population of 5,000, is connected with it by a fine road.

The town of Arecibo, with a population of from 6,000 to 7,000, is situated on the northern coast of Porto Rico, and is the port for a district of some 30,000 inhabitants.

CLIMATE

The climate on the island, though hot and humid, is healthful, except in marshy districts and in cities where sanitary rules are neglected. Yellow fever seldom occurs, and when it does it is confined

to the unsanitary towns and their surroundings, never appearing far from the coasts. The thermometer does not fall below 50° or rise above 90°. The heat is not so great as at Santiago, though the latter is one and a half degrees further north. As in Cuba, there are but two seasons, the rainy and the dry, the former lasting from July to December, the latter from January to the close of June. The delightful dry and salubrious atmosphere of midwinter and spring, with its general healthfulness, promises to bring this island into prominence both as a resort for invalids and for homes to those who would escape the rigors of northern winters.

Porto Rico is an ideal lazy man's country, and the overworked American will, undoubtedly, come to make it more and more his Mecca for rest and recuperation. Even the interior feels the soft, salt air from the ocean. The people are kind-hearted, "easy-going," hospitable, and fond of amusement. Every environment conduces to the dismission of all worriment, to rest, sleep, and a happy-go-lucky state of mind.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Our New Possessions (Continued)

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE most important, and by far the most interesting, as well as the least known of America's new possessions, gained by her war with Spain, are the Philippine Islands. Comparatively few Americans have ever set foot upon that far-away and semi-civilized land, the possession of which enables America to say with England, "The sun never sets upon our flag."

The Philippines lie almost exactly on the other side of the globe from us. Approximately speaking, our noonday is their midnight; our sunset is their sunrise. There are some 1,200 of these islands, 400 of which are inhabited or capable of supporting a population; they cover about 125,000 square miles; they lie in the tropical seas, generally speaking, from five to eighteen degrees north latitude, and are bounded by the China Sea on the west and the Pacific Ocean on the east; they are about 7,000 miles southwest from San Francisco, a little over 600 southeast from Hong Kong, China, and about 1000 almost due north from Australia: they contain between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 inhabitants, about one-third of whom had, prior to Dewey's victory, May 1, 1898, acknowledged Spanish sovereignty to the extent of paying regular tribute to the Spanish crown; the remainder are bound together in tribes under independent native princes or Mohammedan rulers. Perhaps 2,500,000 all told have become nominal Catholics in religion. The rest are Mohammedans and idolaters. There are no Protestant churches in the islands.

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

The history of the Philippines has been monotonous from their discovery by Magellan, in 1521, until the present, a monotony broken

at times by periods of adventures in which Manila has generally been the central scene.

In 1896, the last insurrection broke out. Its causes was the old oppressions : unbearable taxes, and imprisonment or banishment, with the complete confiscation of property of those who could not pay; no justice except for those who could buy it; marriage ceremony so costly that a poor man could not pay the fee; homes and families broken up and ruined; burial refused to the dead, unless a large sum was paid in advance ; no provision and no chance for education. Such were some of the causes that again goaded the natives to revolution, and nerved them with courage to achieve victory after victory over their enemies until they were promised most of the reforms which they demanded. Then they laid down their arms, and, as usual, the Governor-General failed to carry out a single pledge.

Such was the condition, and another revolt, more formidable than any of the past, was forming, when Commodore Dewey, with his American fleet, entered Manila Bay, May 1, 1898, and, a victory unparalleled in naval warfare, sunk the Spanish ships, silenced the forts, and dethroned the power of Spain forever in a land which her tyranny had blighted for more than 300 years.

THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

It is impossible within the scope of this article to give details concerning all the inhabitants of this far-away archipelago. Professor Worcester, of the University of Michigan, tells us that the population comprises more than eighty distinct tribes, with individual peculiarities. They are scattered over hundreds of islands, and one who really wants to know these peoples must leave cities and towns far behind, and, at the risk of his life, through pathless forests, amid volcanic mountains, at the mercy of savages, penetrate to the innermost wilds. Notwithstanding the fact that for hundreds of years bold men, led by the love of science or by the spirit

of adventure, have continued to penetrate these dark regions, there are many sections where the foot of civilized man has never trod; or, if so, he came not back to tell of the lands and peoples which his eyes beheld.

DIFFICULTIES OF EXPLORING THE COUNTRY

There have been great obstacles in the way of a thorough exploration of these islands. Spain persistently opposed the representatives of any other nation entering the country. She suspected every man with a gun of designing to raise an insurrection or make mischief among the natives. The account of red tape necessary to secure guns and ammunition for a little party of four or five explorers admitted through the customs at Manila, is one of the most significant, as well as one of the most humorous, passages in Professor Worcester's story of his several years' sojourn while exploring the archipelago.

In the second place, the savage tribes in the interior had no respect for Spain's authority, and will have none for ours for years to come. Two-thirds of them paid no tribute, and many of them never heard of Spain, or, if so, only remembered that a long time ago white men came and cruelly persecuted the natives along the shore. These wild tribes think themselves still the owners of the land. Some of them go naked and practice cannibalism and other horrible savage customs. Any explorer's life is in danger among them; consequently most tourists to the Philippines see Manila and make short excursions around that city. The more ambitious run down to the cities of Iloilo and Cebu, making short excursions into the country from those points, and then return, thinking they have seen the Philippines. Nothing could be further from the truth. Such travelers no more see the Philippine Islands than Columbus explored America.

Even near the coast there are savages who are almost as ignorant as their brethren in the interior. Mr. Stevens tells us that only "thirty miles from Manila is a race of dwarfs that go without clothes, wear knee-bracelets of horsehair, and respect nothing but

the jungle in which they live." The principal native peoples are of Malayan origin. Of these, to the north of Manila are the Igorrotes; in the islands south of Luzon are the civilized Visayans, and below them in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago are the fierce Moros, who originally came from the island of Borneo, settling in the Philippines a short time before the Spanish discovery. They are Mohammedans in religion, and as fanatical and as fearless fighters as the Turks themselves. For three hundred years the Spaniards have been fighting these savages, and while they have overcome them in nearly all the coast towns, they have expended, it is said, upward of \$100,000,000 and sacrificed more than 100,000 lives in doing so.

THE WARLIKE MOROS

The fierce Moro warriors keep the Spanish settlers along their coasts in a constant state of alarm, and the visitor to the towns feels as if he were at an Indian outpost in early American history, because of the constant state of apprehension that prevails. Fortunately, however, the Moros along the coast have learned to distinguish between the Spaniard and the Englishman or American, and through them the generosity of the *Englese*, as they call the Anglo-Saxons, has spread to their brethren in the interior. Therefore, American and English explorers have been enabled to go into sections where the Spanish friars and monks, who have been practically the only Spanish explorers, would meet with certain death. The Mohammedan fanaticism of the Moros, and that of the Catholic friars and Jesuits, absolutely refuse compromise.

The Negritos (little Negroes) and the Mangyans are the principal representatives of the aboriginal inhabitants before the Malayan tribes came. There are supposed to be, collectively, about 1,000,000 of them, and they are almost as destitute of clothing and as uncivilized as the savages whom Columbus found in America, and far more degenerate and loathsome in habits.

The Island of Luzon, on which the city of Manila stands, is about as large as the State of New York, its area being variously

estimated at from 43,000 to 47,000 square miles. It is the largest of the Philippine group, comprising perhaps one-third of the area of the entire archipelago. Its inhabitants are the most civilized, and its territory the most thoroughly explored. The city of Manila is the metropolis of the Philippines. The population of the city and its environs is considered to be some 300,000 souls, of whom 200,000 are natives, 40,000 full-blooded Chinese, 50,000 Chinese half-castes, 5,000 Spanish, mostly soldiers, 4,000 Spanish half-castes, and 300 white foreigners other than Spaniards. Mr. Joseph Earle Stevens, already referred to, who represented the only American firm in the city of Manila, under Spanish rule (which finally had to turn its business over to the English and leave the island a few years since), informs us that he and three others were the only representatives of the United States in Manila as late as 1893.

THE CITY OF MANILA

The city is built on a beautiful bay from twenty-five to thirty miles across, and on both shores of the Pasig River. On the right bank of the river, going up from the bay, is the old walled town, and around the walls are the weedy moats or ditches. The heavy guns and frowning cannon from the walls suggest a troubled past. This old city is built in triangular form, about a mile on each side, and is regarded as very unhealthful for the walls both keep out the breeze and keep in the foul air and odors. The principal buildings in the old part of the city are the cathedral, many parish churches, a few schoolhouses and the official buildings. The population in the walled city is given at 20,000. Up to a few years ago, no foreigner was permitted to sleep within its walls on account of the Spaniard's fear of a conspiracy. A bridge across the Pasig connects old Manila with the new or unwalled city, where nearly all of the business is done and the native and foreign residents live.

It does not take long to exhaust the sights of Manila, if the people, who are always interesting, are excepted. Aside from the cathedral and a few of the churches, the buildings of the city are anything but imposing. In fact, there is little encouragement to

construct fine edifices because of the danger from earthquakes and typhoons. It is said that not a year passes without a number of slight earthquake shocks, and very serious ones have occurred. In 1845 nearly all of the public buildings were wrecked and 600 persons killed. A very destructive earthquake was that of 1863, when 400 people were killed, 2,000 wounded, and 46 public buildings and 1,100 private houses were badly injured or completely destroyed. In 1874 earthquakes were again very numerous throughout the islands, shocks being felt at intervals in certain sections for several weeks. But the most violent convulsion of modern times occurred in 1880, when even greater destruction than 1863 visited Manila and other towns of Luzon. Consequently there are very few buildings to be found more than two stories high; and the heavy tile roofs formerly in use have, for the most part, been replaced by lighter coverings of galvanized iron.

These light roofs, however, are in constant danger of being stripped off by the typhoons, terrible storms which come with a twisting motion as if rising from the earth or the sea, fairly pulling everything detachable after them. Masts of ships and roofs of houses are frequently carried by these hurricanes.

MANILA AS A BUSINESS CENTER

The streets of Manila are wretchedly paved or not paved at all, and as late as 1893 were lighted by kerosene lamps or by wicks suspended in dishes of cocoanut oil. Lately an electric plant has been introduced, and parts of the city are lighted in this manner. There are two lines of street cars in Manila. The motive power for a car is a single pony, and foreigners marvel to see one of those little animals drawing thirty-odd people.

The retail trade and petty banking of Manila is almost entirely in the hands of the half-castes and Chinese, and many of them have grown immensely wealthy. There are only about 300 Europeans in business in the whole Philippine group, and they conduct the bulk of the importing and exporting trade. Manila contains a number of large cigar and cigarette factories, one of which employs

10,000 hands. There is also a sugar refinery, a steam rice mill, and a rope factory worked partly by men and partly by oxen, a Spanish brewery and a German cement factory, a Swiss umbrella factory and a Swiss hat factory. The single cotton mill, in which \$200,000 of English capital is vested, runs 6,000 spindles.

The statistics of 1897 show that the whole trade of Manila comprised only forty-five Spanish, nineteen German, and seventeen English firms, with six Swiss brokers and two French storekeepers having large establishments. One of the most profitable businesses is said to be that of selling cheap jewelry to the natives. Breastpins which dealers buy in Europe for twelve cents each are readily sold for from \$1.50 to \$2.00 each to the simple Filipinos. Almost everything that is manufactured abroad has a fine prospective market in the Philippines, when the condition of the people permits them to buy.

BEAUTIFUL SPECIMENS OF HANDIWORK

A certain charm attaches to many specimens of native handiwork. The women weave exquisitely beautiful fabrics from the fiber of plants. The floors of Manila houses are admired by all foreigners. They are made of hard wood and polished with banana leaves and greasy cloths until they shine brightly and give an aspect of cool airiness to the room.

Any kind of amusement is popular with the Filipinos—with so much leisure on their hands—provided it does not require too great exertion on their part. They are fond of the theatre, and, up to a few years ago, bullfighting was a favorite pastime; but the most prominent of modern amusements for the natives and half-castes is cock-fighting. It is said that every native has his fighting cock, which is reared and trained with the greatest care until he shows sufficient skill to entitle him to an entrance into the public cockpit where he will fight for a prize. The chickens occupy the family residence, roosting overhead; and, in case of fire, it is said that the game "rooster" is saved before the babies. Professor Worcester tells an amusing story of the annoyance of the crowing cocks above

his head in the morning, and the devices and tricks he and his companions employed to quiet them. The Manila lottery is another institution which intensely excites the sluggish native, and takes from him the money which he does not lose on the cockfights. Under the United States Government this lottery will, no doubt, be abolished in time. It formerly belonged to the Spanish Government, and Spain derived an annual profit of half a million dollars from it.

GENERAL COMMERCE OF THE PHILIPPINES

It is hardly necessary, so far as the commercial world is concerned, to mention any other locality outside of the city of Manila. To commerce, this city (whose total imports in 1897 were only \$10,000,000 and its exports \$20,000,000) is the Philippine Islands. Its present meagre foreign trade represents only an average purchase of about \$1 per inhabitant, and an average sale of \$2 per inhabitant for the largest archipelago in the world, and one of the richest in soil and natural resources. The bulk of these exports were hemp, sugar, and tobacco ; and, strange as it may seem, the United States received 41 per cent. of her hemp and 55 per cent. of her sugar for the year 1897, notwithstanding the fact that we had not one commercial firm doing business in that whole vast domain.

The city of Iloilo is on the southern coast of the fertile island of Panay, and, next to Manila, the chief port of the Philippines. It has an excellent harbor, and the surrounding country is very productive, having extensive plantations of sugar, rice, and tobacco. The population of Iloilo is only 12,000, but there are a few larger towns in the district, of which it is the seaport. Though the city at springtides is covered with water, it is said to be a very healthful place, and much cooler than Manila.

The other open port, Cebu, on the eastern coast of the island of the same name, is a well-built town, and has a population of about 13,000. From this point the bulk of the hemp for export comes.

It is impossible to speak of the other islands in detail. Seven of the group average larger than the State of New Jersey; Luzon is as extensive as Ohio, Mindanao equals Indiana; and, as we have stated before, about 400 of them are inhabitable, and, like Java, Borneo, and the Spice Islands, all are rich in natural resources. They are of a volcanic origin, and may be described in general as rugged and mountainous. The coasts of most of the islands are deeply indented by the sea, and the larger ones are well watered by streams, the mouths of which afford good harbors. Many of the mountainous parts abound in minerals. Mr. Karuph, President of the Philippine Mineral Syndicate, in May, 1898, addressed a letter to Hon. John Hay, at that time our ambassador to England, in which he declares that the Philippines will soon come prominently forward as a new center of the world's gold production. "There is not a brook," says Mr. Karuph, "that finds its way into the Pacific Ocean whose sands and gravel does not pan the color of gold. Many valuable deposits are close to deep water. I know of no other part of the world, the Alaskan Treadwell mines alone excepted, where pay ore is found within a few hundred yards of the anchorage of sea-going vessels." In addition to gold, iron, copper, lead, sulphur, and other minerals are found, and are believed to exist in paying quantities. The numerous mineral springs attest their presence in almost every part of the principal islands.

FORESTS AND TIMBER

The forest products of the islands are perhaps of greater value than their mineral resources. Timber not only exists in almost exhaustless quantity, but—considering the whole group, which extends nearly 1,000 miles from north to south—in unprecedented diversity, embracing sixty varieties of the most valuable woods, several of which are so hard that they cannot be cut with ordinary saws, some so heavy that they sink in water, and two or three so durable as to afford ground for the claim that they outlast iron and steel when placed in the ground or under water. Several of these woods are unknown elsewhere, and, altogether, they are

admirably suited for various decorative purposes and for the manufacture of fine implements and furniture.

Here also are pepper, cinnamon, wax, and gums of various sorts, cloves, tea, and vanilla, while all tropical fruits, such as cocoanuts, bananas, lemons, limes, oranges of several varieties, pineapples, citrons, bread-fruits, custard apples, pawpaws, and mangroves flourish and most of them grow wild, though, of course, they are not equal to the cultivated fruit. There are fifty-odd varieties of the banana in the archipelago, from the midget, which makes but a single mouthful, to the huge fruit eighteen inches long. There seems to be no limit to which tropical fruits and farm products can be cultivated.

The animal and bird life of the Philippines offer a field of interesting research to naturalists. There are no important carnivorous animals. A small wild-cat and two species of civet-cats constitute about all that belong to that class. The house-cats of the Philippines have curious fish-hook crooks in the ends of their tails. There are several species of deer in the archipelago. Hogs run wild in large numbers. The large water buffalo (*carabao*) has been domesticated and is the chief beast of burden with the natives. The *timarau* is another small species of buffalo, very wild and entirely untamable; and, though numerous in certain places, is hard to find, and when brought to bay dies fighting.

Birds abound in all of the islands; nearly six hundred species have been found, over fifty of which exist nowhere else in the world. One of these species builds a nest which is highly prized by Chinese epicures as an article of diet. Prof. Worcester tells us "the best quality of them sometimes brings more than their weight in gold." Crocodiles are numerous in fresh-water lakes and streams, attaining enormous size, and in certain places causing much loss of life among stock and men as well. Snakes also abound, and some of them are very venomous. Cobras are found in the southern islands. Pythons are numerous, some of the smaller sizes being sold in the towns and kept in houses to catch rats, at which they are said to be more expert than house-cats.

All the domestic animals, aside from the *carabao*, have been introduced from abroad. Cattle are extensively raised, and in some of the islands run wild. The horses are a small Spanish breed, but are very strong and have great endurance. Large European horses do not stand the climate well.

CLIMATE, VOLCANOES, ETC.

The mean annual temperature of Manila is 80° F. The thermometer seldom rises above 100° or falls below 60° anywhere in the archipelago. There is no month in the year during which it does not rise as high as 91°. January and December are the coldest months, the average temperature being 70° to 75°. May is the warmest, the average being 84°. April is the next warmest, with an average of 83°; but the weather is generally very moist and humid, which makes the heat more trying. The three winter months have cool nights. Malaria is prevalent, but contagious diseases are comparatively few. Yellow fever and cholera are seldom heard of.

The Philippines are the home of many volcanoes, a number of them still active. Mayon, in the island of Luzon, is one of the most remarkable volcanic mountains on the globe. It is a perfect cone, rising to the height of 8,900 feet, and is in constant activity; its latest destructive eruption took place in 1888. Apo, in the island of Mindanao, 10,312 feet high, is the largest of the Philippine volcanoes. Next is Canloon in Negros, which rises 8,192 feet above the sea. Taal is in a lake, with a height of 900 feet, and is noteworthy as being the lowest volcano in the world. To those not accustomed to volcanoes, these great fire-spouting mountains, which are but prominent representatives of many lesser ones in the islands, seem to be an ever-present danger to the inhabitants; but the natives and those who live there manifest little or no fear of them. In fact, they rather pride themselves in their possession of such terrifying neighbors.

Such is an outline view of the Philippine Archipelago of the present day. A new era has opened up in the history of that



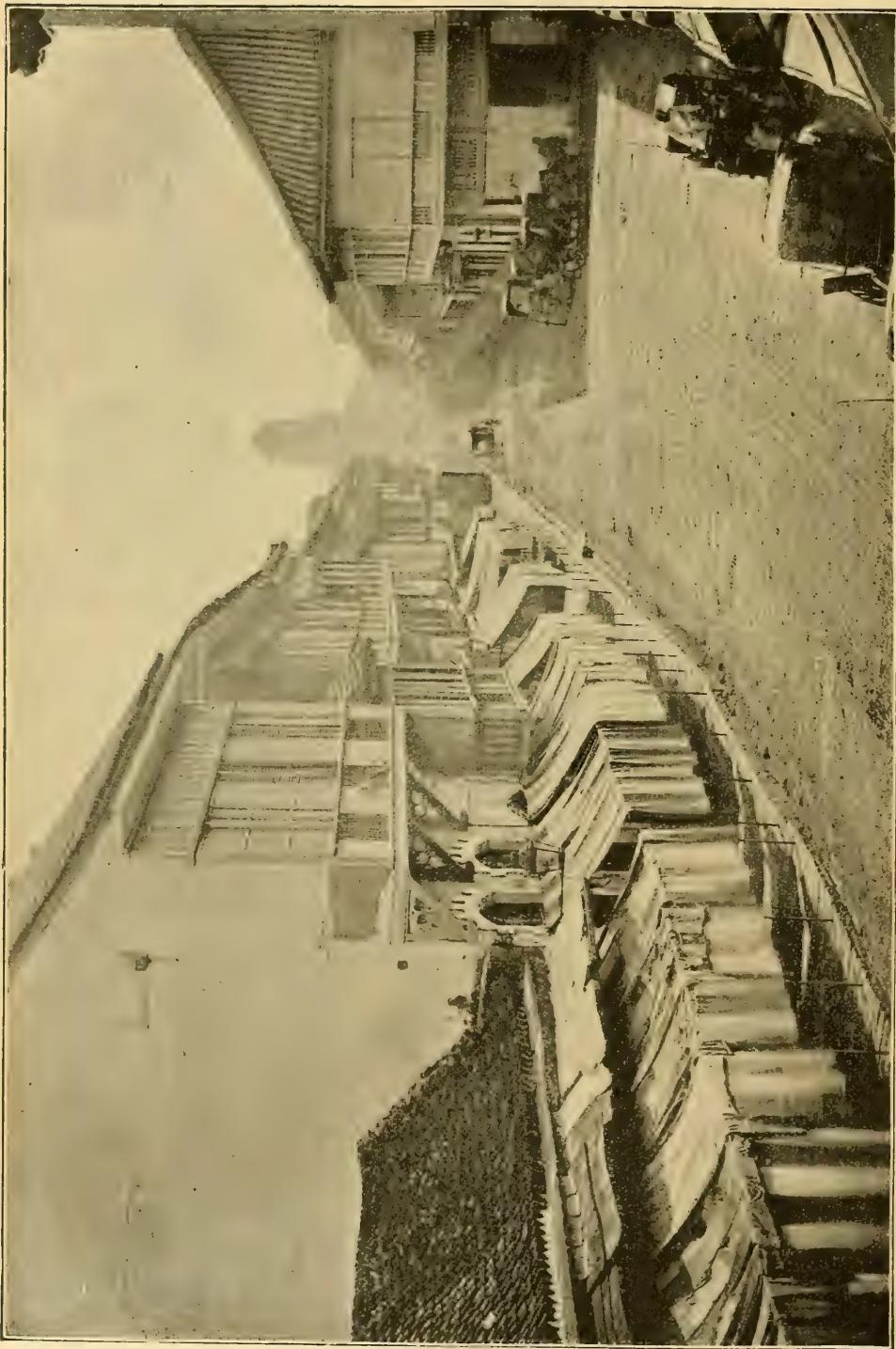
THE MARKET PLACE, PONCE, PORTO RICO



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, PONCE, PORTO RICO, AFTER THE RAISING OF THE
AMERICAN FLAG BY GENERAL MILES

THE ESCOLTA, LOOKING SOUTH

This is the Broadway of Manila. Along this famous street the principal retail shops of the city are situated. Chinese and half-castes are the principal retail merchants. At the time of the capture of the city by Admiral Dewey and General Merritt there was not over one dozen European merchants in Manila. Not one American firm was there; the last one, a Boston hemp dealer, having been driven out some years before.



wonderful land with its liberation from the Spanish yoke. The dense ignorance and semi-savage barbarities which exist there must not be expected to yield too rapidly to the touch of human kindness and brotherly love with which the Christian world will now visit those semi-civilized and untamed children of nature. Nevertheless, western civilization and western progress will undoubtedly work mighty changes in the lives of those people, in the development of that country, during the first quarter of the twentieth century which ushers in the dawn of its freedom.

THE LADRONE, OR MARIANA ISLANDS

It was a welcome sight to Magellan and his crew when, one day in March, nearly 400 years ago, they beheld the verdant and beautifully sloping hills of the Ladrone Islands. Eighteen weary months before they had sailed from the coast of Spain, and all that time, first to the southwest and then to the northwest, they had followed the setting sun. Theirs were the first vessels manned by white men that had ever plowed the trackless Pacific; and this was the first land ever seen by white men within that unknown ocean.

Those little islands have never been of much value, and never can be. Seventeen of them stretching in a row about six hundred miles from north to south, and their total area, including their islets and reefs, is variously estimated at from 400 to 560 square miles. Hence, there is but about one-fourth more territory on the whole seventeen islands combined than is included within the corporate limits of the city of Greater New York.

A broad channel divides the Ladrones into two groups. The northern group consists of ten islets, without inhabitants; the southern group has seven islands, four of which are inhabited. The largest island, *Guahan*, known to us as *Guam*, ceded to us by Spain, was taken by our warship *Charleston* on July 4, 1898. This island contains the only town in the colony. Its full Spanish name is *San Ignacio de Agana*. It is the capital of the archipelago, and contains more than half of the whole population.

The population of the islands in 1899 was estimated at about 9,000. The people are generally lacking in energy, loose in morals, and miserably poor. Their education has been seriously neglected. Their religion is Catholic, no Protestant missions having been encouraged—we might say, not allowed—there or in the Philippines or the Carolines.

TOPOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, ETC.

The islands of the northern group are mountainous, the altitudes reaching from 2,600 to 2,700 feet. There are evidences of volcanoes all over the archipelago, and some mountains contain small craters and cones not yet extinct. The climate of the Ladrone, though humid, is salubrious, and the heat, being tempered by the trade winds, is milder than in the Philippines. The yearly average temperature of Guam is 81°. Streams are everywhere copious—though the clearing of the land has diminished their size of late years. The original flora consists generally of Asiatic plants, but much has been introduced from the Philippines and other sources.

Cocoanuts, palms, the bread tree, and tropical trees and plants, generally, thrive. The large fruit bat which abounds in the Philippines is indigenous to the Ladrone, and, despite its objectionable odor, is a principal article of food. There are only a few species of birds; even insects are rare; and the reptiles are represented by several kinds of lizards and a single species of serpent. No domestic animals were known in the islands until introduced by the Spaniards.

When the United States steamship *Charleston* opened fire on the little city of Agaña, July 4, 1898, the people had not heard of the war, and the governor said he thought "the noble Americans were saluting" him, and was "deeply humiliated because he had no powder to return their salute." It was an easy, bloodless victory. The governor and his soldiers were carried to Manila as prisoners, and an American garrison of a few men left to take charge of this new American territory in the Pacific.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Republican Party Convention

Held at Philadelphia, June 19, 1900

A Representative Ratification Meeting—Men of Thought and Action Assemble in the City of “Brotherly Love”—President McKinley Re-nominated with Great Enthusiasm—How the Vice-President was Selected—The Policy of the Administration Endorsed—The Policy for the Future Clearly Stated

FOR the third time in its history the National Republican Convention has assembled in Philadelphia. Like all predecessors, it became an historic event of unusual importance. Philadelphia, the convention city for the Republican party responded to the enthusiasm of the hour, bedecked herself with bunting and national emblems, opened her doors in generous hospitality to the thousands who poured in from every state and territory in the Union. Long before the Convention met, it was evident that President McKinley would receive an unanimous re-nomination for the first place, and that the policy of his administration would be heartily endorsed. His portrait and name headed every combination for the Republican ticket. But who would get the nomination for the second place was the question of keen interest to politicians and friends of rival candidates. Among the illustrious names mentioned, Governor Roosevelt, of New York State, headed the list, closely followed by Secretary John D. Long of Massachusetts, William B. Allison and William Dolliver, favorite sons of Iowa; Timothy L. Woodruff, New York's Lieutenant-Governor, and Cornelius N. Bliss. The President and the leaders of the party discreetly kept their own counsels, which allowed the rival candidates and their friends to push their own interests. It was

June 17, 1856, forty-four years ago, that the Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia, and nominated John C. Fremont, of California, for President, little known in politics, but who had achieved popularity for his exploits and adventures in the West.

Republican National assemblies have always boasted a distinguished membership. But in this respect the roll of the convention which met in Philadelphia in 1900, probably surpassed any of its eleven predecessors. The roll of the convention which assembled forty-four years ago, contained the names of men which have since passed into history. But most of them were almost unknown in 1856. It will probably be so with the membership of the Republican National Convention of 1900. When the history of the next forty-four years will have been written, many of its prominent actors will doubtless be found to have sat in this convention which re-nominated William McKinley.

THE PARTY HARMONIOUS

It met without contest or difference, collision or controversy over the platform, and the leaders claimed that it had done its work, accomplished its declared purpose and presented a completed stewardship to the voters of the country when it outlined its past achievements and proposed its future policy.

When it met four years ago in St. Louis the gold standard needed to be asserted, and was disputed even within the party, the national credit was lower than for twenty years before, the tariff demanded revision to save the industries of the country, its foreign trade had sunk and its protests against misgovernment in Cuba had been contemned by Spain. The party at the Convention of 1900 claimed that these issues had all been met; that they had all been solved; that the arduous labor they demanded had been done. No differences were left in the party, and the country stood ready to approve the success of the past by giving the party another term of office.

Since that first Republican Convention many and important have been the achievements of the Republican party, and many

have been the important problems given it for solution. It goes before the country with other problems to meet, caused by the expansion of our boundaries and growth in the trade of the country.

This, the twelfth convention, showed no less enthusiasm and buoyant party spirit than was shown at the meeting of previous conventions. There were in attendance the distinguished leaders of the party, and men of thought and action in state and national Councils. The speeches delivered reached the "high-water mark" of eloquence and earnestness, all of which presaged one of the most important and interesting campaigns in the nation's history.

The hall selected for the meeting of the convention, probably the largest and finest in the United States for this purpose, seated fully 25,000 people, and was arranged with all the conveniences and equipments for handling and moving large assemblies.

FIRST DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

Men who have attended previous conventions, recall that Harrison was nominated in the Minneapolis Exposition building, which defied all the forensic forces of the speakers, and McKinley was nominated at St. Louis in a wigwam which was a terror to every man who tried to impress his colleagues with his eloquence.

All these convention halls fail immeasurably in comparison with the splendid auditorium in which the twelfth convention of the Republican party was assembled. The expressions of delight at its majestic proportions were followed by one of surprise and profound satisfaction that the voice from the platform carried to the remotest door and brought the personality, the logic, and the oratory to every one of the thousands of eager listeners who filled the structure. It was a testimony, moreover, of the metropolitan way in which Philadelphia does things, and the word was certain to be carried to the remotest corners of the land, that no quadrennial assemblage of either of the great parties has been so comfortably and delightfully lodged as this one.

Chairman Hanna called the convention to order at 12.35 P.M., and introduced the Rev. Gray J. Bolton, who delivered the invocation. Senator Dick, of the National Committee, read the call for the convention, and the entire audience rose to its feet, when the band began to play "The Star Spangled Banner." Senator Hanna, in his opening, eulogized Philadelphia as the "Cradle of Liberty," and said that this "beehive of industry" is all the evidence necessary to demonstrate the great principles of the Republican party. He thanked the people of Philadelphia for their hospitality. When he referred to President McKinley the convention went into an uproar.

SENATOR WOLCOTT THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

He closed by introducing Senator E. O. Wolcott, of Colorado, as temporary chairman of the convention. Senator Wolcott, in a few graceful words accepted the appointment, and spoke in a most eloquent manner, in which he eulogized President McKinley, as a patriotic, wise and courageous leader, and an example of the highest type of American manhood. After eulogizing the President as one of the greatest leaders the party has ever had, he paid a glowing tribute to the memory of the late Vice-President Hobart, and spoke of him as always a trusted friend and adviser of the President, "Sage in counsel, and wise in judgment."

He began by saying :

Since the first party convention in these United States, there was never one gathered together under such hopeful and auspicious circumstances as those which surround us to-day. United, proud of the achievements of the past four years, our country prosperous and happy, with nothing to regret and naught to make us ashamed, with a record spotless and clean, the Republican Party stands facing the dawn, confident that the ticket it shall present will command public approval, and that in the declaration of its principles and its purposes, it will voice the aspirations and hopes of the vast majority of American freemen.

We need "no omen but our country's cause;" yet there is significance in the fact that the convention is assembled in this historic and beautiful city, where we first assumed territorial responsibilities, when our fathers, a century and a quarter ago, promulgated the immortal Declaration of Independence.

The spirit of justice and liberty that animated them found voice three-quarters of a century later in this same City of Brotherly Love, when Fremont led the forlorn hope of united patriots who laid here the foundations of our party and put human freedom as its corner-stone. It compelled our ears to listen to the cry of suffering across the shallow waters of the Gulf two years ago.

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS

While we observe the law of nations and maintain that neutrality which we owe to a great and friendly government, the same spirit lives to-day in the genuine feeling of sympathy we cherish for the brave men now fighting for their homes in the veldts of South Africa. It prompts us in our determination to give to the dusky races of the Philippines the blessings of good government and Republican institutions, and finds voice in our indignant protest against the violent suppression of the rights of the colored man in the South. That spirit will survive in the breasts of patriotic men as long as the nation endures; and the events of the past have taught us that it can find its fair and free and full expression only in the principles and policy of the Republican Party.

When Mr. McKinley became President he took the reins of government after four years of Democratic administration. For the first time in more than a generation Democracy had full sway, with both Houses of Congress in party accord with the Executive. No summary of the unmerciful disasters of those four years can convey an idea of a tithe of the ruin they wrought.

RESULT OF DEMOCRATIC POLICY

In the four years preceding Mr. Cleveland's Administration we had paid \$260,000,000 of the national debt; he added \$230,000,000 to its burdens. He found a tariff act, bearing the name of his successor and our President, fitted to meet the requirements of our necessary expenditures, to furnish the needed protection to our farmers and manufacturers, and to insure the steady and remunerative employment of those who labor. Instead of permitting manufacture and commerce that repose and stability of law which are essential for working out economic conditions, he at once recommended violent and radical changes in revenue and tariff provisions, recommendations which his party in Congress proceeded partially and disastrously to execute. The appalling result of his policy is still fresh in the memory of millions who suffered from it.

Four years of commercial misfortune enabled our industries to meet, in a measure, these changed and depressed conditions, but when President McKinley was inaugurated the country was in a state more deplorable than had existed for a generation.

Facing these difficulties, the President, immediately upon his inauguration, convened Congress in extra session, and in a message of force and lucidity summarized the legislation essential to our national prosperity. The industrial history of the United States for the past four years is the tribute to the wisdom of his judgment.

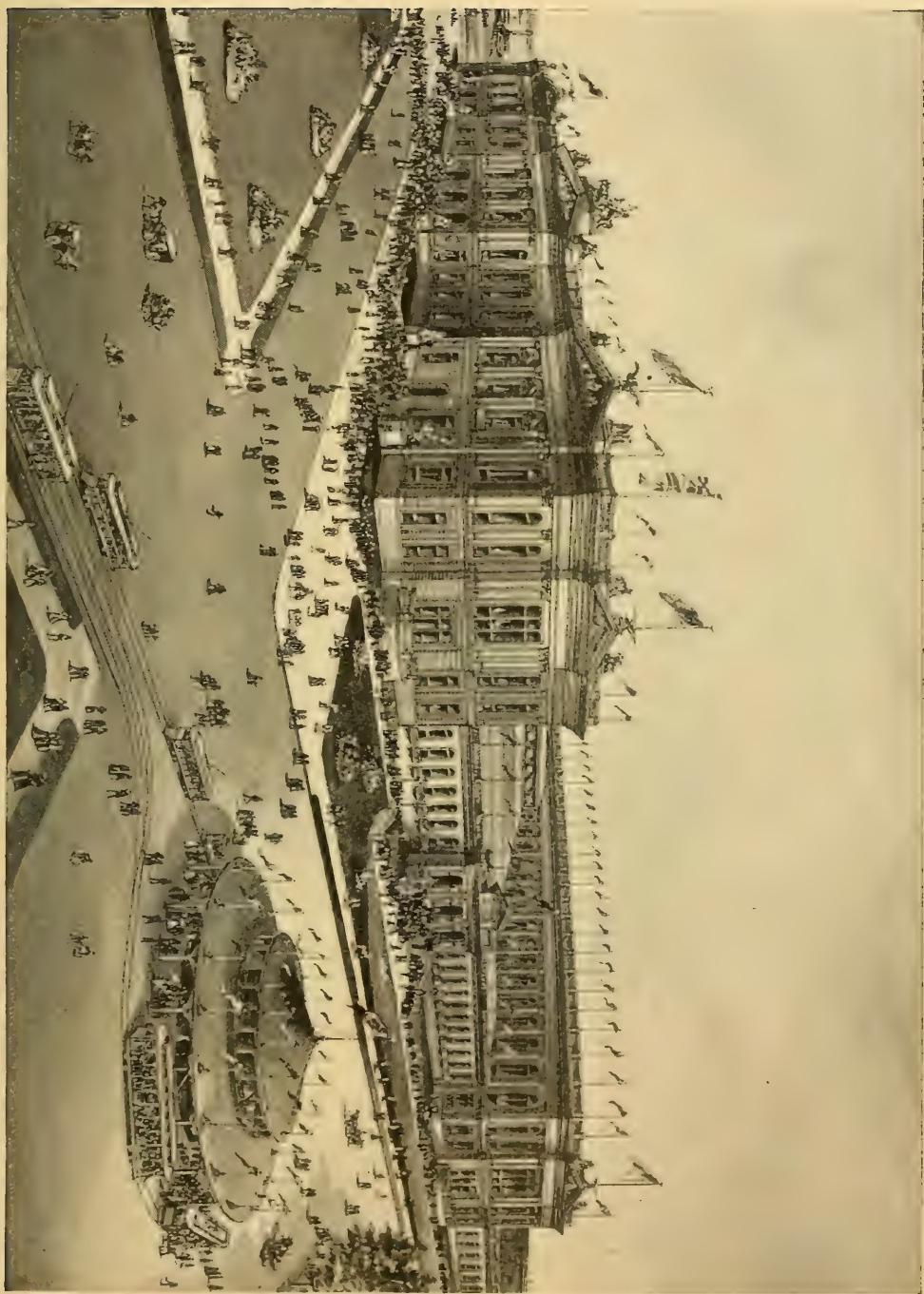
THE TARIFF

The tariff measure under which we are now conducting business was preceded by an unusual volume of importations based upon common knowledge that certain duties were to be raised ; the bill met the popular demand that duties on many of the necessities of life should be lowered and not raised ; advances in invention and new trade conditions made it unnecessary and unwise to revert to the higher tariff provisions of the law of 1890 ; the increases in the revenue provisions were slight. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, tending to reduce income, the revenues from the Dingley Bill marched steadily upwards, until soon our normal income exceeded our normal expenditure, and we passed from a condition of threatened insolvency to one of national solvency.

This tells but a small fraction of the story. Under the wise provisions of our tariff laws and the encouragement afforded to capital by a renewal of public confidence, trade commenced to revive, the looms were no longer silent and the mills deserted ; railway earnings increased, merchants and banks resumed business, labor found employment at fair wages, our exports increased, and the sunshine of hope again illumined the land. The figures that illustrate the growing prosperity of the four years of Republican administration well nigh stagger belief. There isn't an idle mill in the country to-day. The mortgages on Western farms have been paid by the tens of thousands, and our farmers are contented and prosperous. Our exports have reached enormous figures ; for the last twelve months our exports of merchandise will exceed our imports by \$550,000,000. Our manufactured articles are finding a market all over the world and in constantly increasing volume. We are rapidly taking our place as one of the great creditor nations of the world. Above and beyond all, there is no man who labors with his hands, in all our broad domain, who cannot find work, and the scale of wages was never in our history as high as now.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD SETTLEMENT.

During the last administration an offer of settlement was made to the Pacific railroads, which would have brought us \$42,000,000 out of the \$70,000,000 due us in principal and interest. President McKinley, refusing to consider as binding the former offer, and acting within the authority of Congress, collected every dollar of both principal and interest due from the Union Pacific

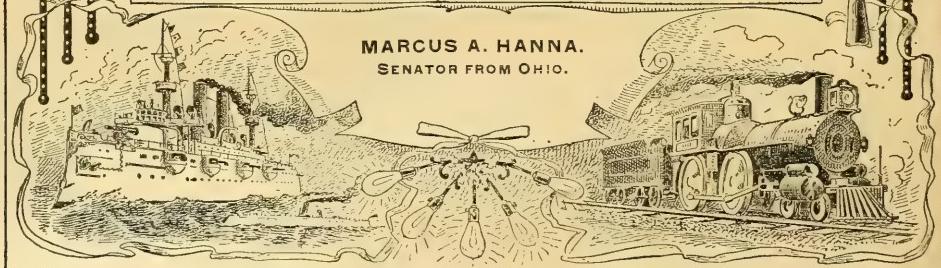


HALL IN WHICH NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION WAS HELD, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 19, 1900.



CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

MARCUS A. HANNA.
SENATOR FROM OHIO.



Company and the principal of the debt due from the Kansas Pacific. We saved more than \$20,000,000 over the offer of settlement made by Mr. Cleveland, and have collected all of the principal and most of the interest due us. Thus was this transaction closed, and has since been followed by a settlement of the debt of the Central Pacific Railroad, calling for every dollar of principal and interest of the debt, amounting to \$58,000,000. More than thirty-five years ago a Republican administration lent the credit of the country to the building of the great iron band that was to link together the East and West; lent it not in time of peace, but when our country was in the throes of civil war. The area to be penetrated was then unsettled and unknown. It is now a great empire, rich, prosperous, and happy, and the money of the people which made the highway possible has been returned to them in overflowing measure.

THE QUESTION OF TRUSTS

Whenever a Republican administration is in power there is constant talk of trusts. The reason isn't far to seek. Aggregations and combinations of capital find their only encouragement in prosperous days and widening commerce. Democratic administration in this country has universally meant industrial stagnation and commercial depression, when capital seeks a hiding-place instead of investment. The Republican party has always maintained that any combination, having for its purpose the cornering of a market or the raising or controlling of the price of the necessities of life was unlawful and should be punished, and a commission appointed by the President, under act of Congress, has made careful investigation and will soon present a full report of the best method of dealing with this intricate question. We shall meet it in some efficient way, and, as a party, shall have the courage to protect every class of our citizens. There was never a better time to deal with it than now, when there isn't in this broad land a man willing to work who doesn't find employment at fair wages. And when the clamor of the agitator who seeks confiscation, and not regulation, falls on dead ears and finds no response from the artisans in our busy workshops.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION

The campaign four years ago was fought on the currency question. The Populistic Democracy insisted that the United States alone should embark on the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting the concurrence of any other nation. The Republican party insisted that the question of bimetallism was international, and that until it should be settled under agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, gold should continue to be the standard of value in these United States. Upon that issue we

triumphed. In accordance with the pledge of the party an honest effort was made to reach some international solution of the question.

GOLD THE STANDARD

We have made advances enough; this country can better afford than any other to enter upon the contest for commercial supremacy with gold as its standard, and for us the time has come to give fair notice to the world that we, too, make gold our standard and redeem our obligations in that metal. For twelve years the platforms of the party have declared in favor of the use of gold and silver as money. The logic of recent events, together with the attempt of the Democracy to drag down the question from its international character, to associate it with every vagary of Populism and Socialism, and to drive this country to an alliance with Mexico and China, as an exclusively silver using country, has impelled our people to this settlement of this problem, and the recent action of congress has eliminated the danger which its further agitation menaced.

The provisions of the bill secure to the people a needed increase in the volume of the currency, prevent the future depletion of the gold in the Treasury, and encourage a more extended use of our bonds by the national banks of the country. But, above all, the success attending its passage has demonstrated that our own people and the nations of Europe have faith in the permanence of our institutions and our financial integrity. Our debt is funded at two per cent. per annum, and millions of our interest charge saved annually. The world has never witnessed so triumphant financial success as has followed the passage of the currency law, and our two per cent. bonds, held the world over, already command a substantial premium. Through the policy of the Republican party and the wisdom of a Republican administration, we have not only made stable and permanent our financial credit, at home and abroad, are utilizing more silver as money than ever before in our history, but we have left the Populistic Democracy a dead issue they can never again galvanize into life, and compelled them to seek to create new issues growing out of a war which they were most eager to precipitate.

CURRENCY PROBLEMS SETTLED

May I, a Western man, add another word? The passage of this bill, which received the vote of every Western Republican in Congress, marked the termination, forever final, of any sort of difference between Republicans of the East and of the West, growing out of currency problems. Even if the stern logic of events had not convinced us, our deep and abiding loyalty to the principles of the party, our belief that the judgment of its majority should

govern, would lead us to abandon further contention. And the thousands of Republicans in the West who left us four years ago are returning home. The men of the Far West are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh. The sun that shines on you blesses them also, and the shadow before your door darkens their homes as well. They are naturally expansionists in the Western plains and mountains, and when they see a great political party attacking the integrity of the nation, and lending encouragement to insurrectionists who are shooting down our soldiers and resisting the authority of the government of the United States, all other questions fade and are forgotten, and they find themselves standing shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the Republican party, keeping step, always, "to the music of the Union."

WHAT THIS ADMINISTRATION YET WILL DO

As to the excessive war tax Senator Wolcott predicted that before President McKinley's term will have expired that many of the duties will be lightened; that new legislation will be passed, which will rebuild our merchant marine, and provide for building, owning and operating under exclusive American control, a ship canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. He referred in eloquent language to the war with Spain, and the noble sacrifices the North and South had made in behalf of home and country, to alleviate the sufferings of the neighboring people, and secure for them the same liberties which we ourselves enjoy. He discussed our relations with Porto Rico and our power to deal with foreign possessions, claiming that the action taken by the administration was a wise one. He also asserted that the Republican Party would adhere literally to its declaration in regard to the freedom of Cuba. He in scathing terms spoke of the American citizens who have gone to Cuba for the purpose of perpetrating frauds which have brought a blush of shame to every American. He declared that the Republican Party would be the first to right any wrongs that had been done, and to bring to justice, those who had done wrong; and in regard to the Philippines that it is our duty to keep them, and that their abandonment would be a confession that we were not able to protect them, and that we would be doing what no other civilized nation of the

world would do, turning them back to Spain, or else consigning them to anarchy and confusion. Continuing he said :

WILL KEEP THE PHILIPPINES

The future of nations, however, like the future of man, is hid from mortal vision, and, no more than man may a nation choose its own duties. When this war ended and we faced our victory in all its completeness, we found 8,000,000 of people living upon uncounted islands delivered into our hands. Abandonment of them would be confession that while the oppression by Spain of 1,500,000 Cubans demanded our armed interference, greater barbarity and cruelty to millions of Filipinos, less able to protect themselves, was a subject of no concern to us. No civilized nation in the world, no Christian nation, could have turned these people back to Spain. Our commissioners, when they insisted upon our retention of the Philippines, voiced the sentiments and wishes of the American people; and this nation has assumed with open eyes and with full realization of the difficulties which may be encountered, the grave responsibilities imposed upon us by the Treaty of Paris.

We are told that the islands are rich in all the products of the tropics, in mineral wealth, and in the possibilities of their future development. So much the better. But if they were as barren as the Libyan desert, we would have taken them just the same.

We haven't been there long, but long enough to reach two conclusions : One is, that the first thing we intend doing is to suppress the Tagal insurrection and to establish law and order throughout the archipelago. That is the first thing we shall do. And the last, the very last thing we intend doing, is to consider, even for a moment, the question of giving up or of abandoning these islands.

VITAL QUESTIONS BEFORE THE VOTER

Never since 1864, when the voters of the country were called upon to determine whether the efforts of Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union should be continued, or whether they should be abandoned and other measures attempted, have questions so vital been presented to the American people for settlement. Their decision must determine the maintenance or the degradation of both our national credit and our national honor. A Democratic President could paralyze the operation of the new currency law as effectively as if it were wiped from our statute books. A Democratic victory would infuse new life into the Tagal insurrection, cost us the lives of thousands of our gallant army in the Philippines, impair or destroy our prestige, if not our power, in the islands, make us a byword among the other great nations of the world, and obliterate our influ-

ence in the settlement of the vital questions certain to arise when China shall be opened to foreign commerce.

There is little room for fear. The farmer and the artisan in their day of prosperity still remember the impoverishment and blight of Democracy, and the Chicago platform has no allurements for them.

Our national honor is equally secure.

AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT POLTROONS

The American people are neither poltroons nor pessimists, and they will not signalize the dawn of the new century by the surrender of either convictions or territory. Every soldier back from the islands, and they are in almost every hamlet in the land, returns an advocate of their retention. Our dead are buried along the sands of Luzon, and on its soil no foreign flag shall ever salute the dawn.

Whatever may be in store for us in the new and unbeaten track upon which we are entering, we shall not be found "with the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin." Our way is new, but it is not dark. In the re-adjustment of world-conditions, where we must take our place with the other great nations of the earth, we shall move with caution, but not with fear. We seek only to lift up men to better things, to bless and not to destroy. The fathers of the republic accepted with courage such responsibilities as devolved upon them. The same heavens bend over us, and the same power that shielded them will guard and protect us, for what we seek is to build still more firmly, always upon foundations of probity and of virtue, the glorious edifice of the republic.

CLOSING OF THE DAY'S SESSION

The rest of the work of the convention was mere routine. The states as the roll was called handed in the names of those chosen by their delegates as members of the Committees on Rules, Resolutions, Permanent Organization and Credentials.

Then came the closing touching scene. A venerable man of benevolent aspect, with smooth-shaven face and white hair, stepped tremblingly forward on the platform beside the chairman, who said:—

"Gentlemen of the Convention:—Forty-four years ago to-day Rev. Edgar M. Levy, of Philadelphia, opened the convention that nominated John C. Fremont with prayer. He is present here to-day and will lead in prayer."

As if the past rose in panoramic vision, so did the venerable preacher pray. There was no effort at devotional elocution or

rhetorical period. It was an appeal to Heaven for the party in its superb power whose birth he had blessed. It was an invocation for the Republic and its rulers, for the people and their progress in righteousness under the banner of the free and the Cross of Calvary. It was a patriarch of Republicanism praying for his people.

SECOND DAY OF THE CONVENTION

The second day session of the Republican National Convention was called to order at 12:30 o'clock, by Senator Wolcott, who introduced the Rev. Charles M. Boswell, who opened the proceedings with prayer. A very significant scene followed when the presiding officer introduced the fifteen survivors of the first Republican Convention, called at Pittsburg forty-four years ago, who had with them the same old flag used at that convention. The audience arose as the line of white-haired patriarchs appeared on the platform carrying the faded American flag, tattered and barely holding together. A deafening salute went up for the faded standard and its venerable bearers. The fifteen white-haired men arranged themselves side by side and looked out upon the sea of faces. When the storm of applause had ceased the leader of the delegation read the resolutions which declared their unswerving allegiance to the party they had helped to bring forth. The resolutions regretted the inability of many of the members of the National Fremont Association to be present because of their advanced age. The resolutions were concluded with the declaration that "We heartily endorse the administration of Honorable William McKinley, which gives such unbounded prosperity."

After this interesting incident the regular order of the day was commenced, and the report of the Committee on Credentials was read by Honorable Sereno E. Payne, its chairman. The hotly contested seats from Delaware were awarded the delegation headed by J. E. Addicks. There was no discussion of the report. General Grosvenor, of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, announced the selection of Henry Cabot Lodge as permanent chairman. Governor Roosevelt, of New York, and

Governor Shaw, of Ohio, were appointed to escort the permanent chairman to the platform.

Senator Lodge thereupon delivered his speech which is given in full below. At the close of his address two gavels were presented to the speaker, one by Colonel Childs, of Rhode Island, and the other by John W. Langley, delegate from Kentucky. L. E. Olson, of Minneapolis, presented a table which had been used in the Republican National Convention in Minneapolis and St. Louis. All these were accepted in short speeches by the chairman Senator Lodge. General Bingham, of Pennsylvania, reported on behalf of the Committee on Rules, recommending that the rules used at the two preceding conventions be adopted. A most interesting feature of the convention and an event looked forward to, was the report of the Committee on Resolutions, of which Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana, was chairman. He reported the platform of the party for 1900 which is printed in full elsewhere. The announcement of the adoption of the platform was received with enthusiastic applause.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEN.

Each delegation reported as it was called upon in order the name it recommended to represent it on the National Committee. The names reported were as follows;

Alabama—No selection.	Maine—Joseph H. Manley.
Arkansas—Powell Clayton.	Maryland—L. C. McComas.
California—W. C. Vanfleet.	Massachusetts—G. L. Meyer.
Colorado—E. O. Wolcott.	Michigan—William H. Elliott.
Connecticut—Charles F. Brooker.	Minnesota—Thomas H. Shevelin.
Delaware—John Edward Addicks.	Mississippi—H. C. Turley.
Florida—John G. Long.	Missouri—Richard C. Kerens.
Georgia—Judson W. Lyons.	Montana—William H. Dewitt.
Idaho—George L. Shoup.	Nebraska—R. P. Snyder.
Illinois—Graeme Stewart.	Nevada—P. L. Flannigan.
Indiana—Harry C. New.	New Hampshire—Charles T. Means.
Iowa—Ernest E. Hart.	New Jersey—Franklin Murphy.
Kansas—David W. Mulvane.	New York—Frederick S. Gibbs.
Kentucky—John W. Yerkes.	North Carolina—J. C. Pritchard.

North Dakota—Alexander McKinney.	Washington—George H. Baker.
Ohio—George B. Cox.	West Virginia—N. B. Scott.
Oregon—George A. Steele.	Wisconsin—Henry C. Payne.
Pennsylvania—Matthew Stanley Quay.	Wyoming—Willis Van Devanter.
Rhode Island—Charles R. Brayton.	Alaska—John G. Hyde.
South Carolina—E. A. Webster.	Arizona—William M. Griffith.
South Dakota—J. M. Green.	Indian Territory—William M. Millette.
Tennessee—Walter T. Brownlow.	New Mexico—Solomon Luna.
Texas—R. B. Hawley.	Oklahoma—William Grimes.
Utah—No selection.	District of Columbia—Myron M. Parker.
Vermont—James W. Brock.	Hawaii—Harold M. Sewall.
Virginia—George E. Bowden.	

At this time the afternoon was far spent, and a motion was carried to adjourn until 10 o'clock the following day.

THE CLOSING DAY'S SESSION

STRONG SPEECHES ON THE CANDIDATES AND ISSUES

It was the great day of the convention. People who had thronged the building on the previous days expecting to hear the nominating speeches for President McKinley went away disappointed, but returned at an early hour for the last day's convention, fully confident that their expectations would be realized. The indecision of the previous days as to the probable candidate for second place on the ticket, had given away to practical certainty that New York's popular governor, Theodore Roosevelt, would be unanimously nominated. So enterprising and generous had the daily papers been in securing and publishing the news, that practically the plans of the day were known. All there was to be expected for the last day's session was the enthusiasm which attended the nomination of two men whose popularity has seldom been exceeded in American history, and equaled only by the popularity which surrounded the name of James G. Blaine, the "Plumed Knight" of more than one campaign. The Convention Hall was gay with colors of bunting, with badges of delegates and spectators, the bright colored dresses and hats of the ladies, and the beautiful flowers which were banked upon the platform. As the crowds assembled the bands

discoursed popular airs. A band from Canton, Ohio, known as McKinley's Band, was again in attendance and very popular with the convention. Everyone felt, when chairman Henry Cabot Lodge rapped with his gavel upon the table, that this was to be the day of days for the Republican party. More than twenty thousand people were to witness it. Before this audience was the pomp of peace, power of political mastery, splendors of ecclesiastical vestment, and dramatic climaxes, set as it were upon a stage, all to yield to the enthralment of fervid oratory, and the delirium of unrestrained enthusiasm. The chairman introduced Archbishop Ryan, who came forward in the purple vestments of his office to offer prayer. The vast audience arose, as the venerable prelate stepped forward, and stood with bowed heads, and, in the silence which ensued, could hear the strong voice, and appreciate the fervent and solemn invocation. After a few moments for announcements and preliminary business, the chairman declared that it was now in order to proceed with the nominations, and ordered the states to be called in alphabetical order.

ROLL CALL OF THE STATES

Alabama being the first called upon responded that it would yield its place to Ohio, and immediately a gray-haired man with whitening moustache came down the aisle, and was recognized in an instant as Senator Foraker, of Ohio. Everyone seemed to be aware of the task which had been set for the venerable Senator and knew who the incomparable statesman was, that the speaker so eloquently portrayed without naming him, yet from ancient custom his hearers pretended to be ignorant. When Mr. Foraker in closing thundered "William McKinley" the assembly arose to its feet as one man, and gave forth a shout of approval, which seemed to have been stored up for three days. A thousand hands among the delegates and ten thousand handkerchiefs among the spectators fluttered and here and there tri-colored bunches of pampas plumes waved back and forth; then another and another, like magic sprang to view, and the pit occupied by the delegates seemed one mass of

waving color. The band in the gallery began playing but nobody could recognize the air. The cornet and bass drum only were recognizable. Even the dignified officials and guests on the platform seemed to forget themselves and join in the pandemonium. Mark Hanna could restrain himself no longer, but jumped to his feet and seizing a bunch of brilliant plumes, dropped his handkerchief and fan and led the audience, waving his plumes like a baton. Every banner of every state which had been fastened in its socket to mark the position of the delegates was torn from its moorings, and soon there was a procession of banners moving through the aisles. Even the banner of little Hawaii was held aloft by the dark-skinned native delegate. This sight swept the audience beyond control.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT SPEAKS

For nearly twenty minutes this popular outburst was maintained, and from pure weariness the audience finally subsided and the pound of the chairman's gavel was heard. On the whole the great demonstration was a success. It was loud, it was long, it satisfied the convention and the spectators. When the chairman could be heard he recognized a delegate from New York, who desired to second the nomination of William McKinley. Of course, it was Governor Theodore Roosevelt, the rough rider, statesman and popular hero who spoke. For nearly five minutes he was compelled to face this vast audience, again on its feet, thundering forth applauses with cheers and waving of banners. In vain he raised his hand and motioned for silence. Finally Governor Roosevelt made himself heard. He is an energetic speaker, he shows even a ferocity of manner. He speaks as though he would drive every sentence home, and expected to carry conviction with it. His clenched fist, heavy-set jaw, and poise of body bespoke a kind of angry conviction. He praised the administration, and with sharp and emphatic sentences brought down the house with his description of the Ice Trust as "one that is thoroughly infamous in character and may be criminal."

He was followed by John W. Yerkes of Kentucky, and by Senator Thurston of Nebraska; who without much effort filled the hall with the volume of his voice, and affirmed that "the steamships which plowed the main, took up the glad refrain William McKinley! William McKinley! William McKinley!" Senator Thurston who spoke for the middle west was generously applauded. He was followed by George A. Knight of California, who paid a tribute to his own state and its enthusiastic approval of President McKinley's policy. Soon there began to be heard the call "Vote! Vote!" and the calling the roll of the states began in the usual impressive manner. As the name of each state was called a delegate arose and answered with the number of votes from each state, "For William McKinley." Little Hawaii again became the center of attraction, when she cast her two votes for the President. In this way there were 926 votes and they were unanimously for William McKinley, and upon the announcement of the result by the chairman there was another grand demonstration.

NOMINATION OF VICE PRESIDENT

When the convention could be brought to order, the nomination for Vice President became the order of the day. In accordance with a pre-arranged program, Colonel Lafe Young of Iowa, in a graceful speech announced that his state whose first choice had been one of her own sons, William Dolliver, now recognized that there was one man more than all others demanded by the people of this broad country for second place. He gracefully joined in the popular demand, and proposed the name of Governor Roosevelt of New York as the people's choice for Vice President. Upon this announcement the audience again arose to their feet, and shouted and cheered and marched with enthusiasm almost equal to that displayed upon the nomination of the President. The roll of the states being called, the choice was unanimous, the total number of votes being cast for the nominees being the whole number 496 for President, and 495 for Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt not voting with his delegation for himself.

There was a great demand to hear the people's favorite orator, Chauncey Depew, of New York, who in his own inimitable way, amused, instructed and entertained the vast audience. A number of resolutions were passed and the day's work was over and the convention was adjourned. The nominating speeches follow.

Noted Orators to the Front

Speeches Nominating the Leaders

SENATOR FORAKER'S SPEECH

Senator Foraker, in renominating President McKinley for the Presidency, said :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : Alabama yields to Ohio, and I thank Alabama for that accommodation. Alabama has so yielded, however, by reason of a fact that would seem in an important sense to make the duty that has been assigned to me a superfluous duty, for Alabama has yielded because of the fact that our candidate for the Presidency has, in fact, been already nominated. (Applause.) He was nominated by the distinguished Senator from Colorado when he assumed the duties of temporary chairman. He was nominated again yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts when he took the office of permanent chairman ; and he was nominated for a third time when the Senator from Indiana yesterday read us the platform. (Applause.) And not only has he been thus nominated by this convention, but he has also been nominated by the whole American people. (Applause.)

From one end of the land to the other in every mind only one and the same man is thought of for the honor which we are now about to confer, and that man is the first choice of every other man who wishes Republican success next November. (Applause.)

On this account it is that it is not necessary for me or any one else to speak for him here or elsewhere. He has already spoken for himself (applause), and to all the world. He has a record replete with brilliant achievements (applause), a record that speaks at once both his performances and his highest eulogy. It comprehends both peace and war, and constitutes the most striking illustration possible of triumphant and inspiring fidelity, and success in the discharge of public duty.

Four years ago the American people confided to him their highest and most sacred trust. Behold, with what results. He found the industries of the

country paralyzed and prostrated ; he quickened them with a new life that has brought to the American people a prosperity unprecedented in all their history. He found the labor of this country everywhere idle ; he has given it everywhere employment. He found it everywhere in despair ; he has made it everywhere prosperous and buoyant with hope. He found the mills and shops and factotories and mines everywhere closed ; they are now everywhere open. (Applause.)

And while we here deliberate, they are sending their surplus products in commercial conquest to the very ends of the earth. Under his wise guidance our financial standard has been firmly planted high above and beyond assault, and the wild cry of sixteen to one, so full of terror and long hair in 1896, has been put to everlasting sleep alongside of the lost cause, and other cherished Democratic heresies in the catacombs of American politics. (Applause.) With a diplomacy never excelled and rarely equaled, he has overcome what at times seemed to be insurmountable difficulties, and has not only opened to us the door of China, but he has advanced our interests in every land.

WISE, BRAVE, PATIENT

Mr. Chairman, we are not surprised by this, for we anticipated it all. When we nominated him at St. Louis four years ago, we knew he was wise, we knew he was brave, we knew he was patient, we knew he would be faithful and devoted, and we knew that the greatest possible triumphs of peace would be his ; but we then little knew that he would be called upon to encounter also the trials of war. That unusual emergency came. It came unexpectedly—as wars generally come. It came in spite of all he could honorably do to avert it. It came to find the country unprepared for it, but it found him equal to all its extraordinary requirements. (Applause.) And it is no exaggeration to say that in all American history there is no chapter more brilliant than that which chronicles, with him as our commander-in-chief, our victory on land and sea. (Applause.)

In 100 days we drove Spain from the Western Hemisphere, girded the earth with our acquisition and filled the world with the splendor of our power. (Applause.)

The American name has a new and greater significance now. Our flag has a new glory. It not only symbolizes human liberty and political equality at home, but it means freedom and independence for the long suffering patriots of Cuba, and complete protection, education, enlightenment, uplifting and ultimate local self-government and the enjoyment of all the blessings of liberty to the millions of Porto Rico and the Philippines. What we have so gloriously done for ourselves we propose most generously to do for them. (Applause.) We have so declared in the platform that we have adopted. A fitting place

it is for this party to make such a declaration. Here in this magnificent city of Philadelphia, where the evidences so abound of the rich blessings the Republican party has brought to the American people, here at the birthplace of the nation, where our own Declaration of Independence was adopted and our Constitution formed; where Washington and Jefferson and Hancock and John Adams and their illustrious associates wrote their immortal work; here where center so many historic memories that stir the blood and flush the cheek and excite the sentiments of human liberty and patriotism is indeed a most fitting place for the party of Lincoln and Grant, and Garfield and Blaine; (applause) the party of Union and Liberty for all men to formally dedicate themselves to this great duty.

We are now in the midst of its discharge. We could not turn back if we would, and would not if we could. (Applause.) We are on trial before the world, and must triumphantly meet our responsibilities, or ignominiously fail in the presence of mankind.

These responsibilities speak to this convention here and now, and command us that we choose to be our candidate and the next President—which is one and the same thing—the best fitted man for the discharge of this great duty in all the Republic. (Applause.)

On that point there is no difference of opinion. No man in all the nation is so well qualified for this trust as the great leader under whom the work has been so far conducted. He has the head; he has the heart, he has the special knowledge and the special experience that qualify him beyond all others. And, Mr. Chairman, he has also the stainless reputation and character, and has led the blameless life that endear him to his countrymen and give to him the confidence of the respect, the admiration, the love and the affection of the whole American people. (Applause.)

He is an ideal man, representing the highest type of American citizenship, an ideal candidate and an ideal President. With our banner in his hands it will be carried to triumphant victory in November next. (Applause.)

In the name of all these considerations, not alone on behalf of his beloved State of Ohio, but on behalf of every other state and territory here represented, and in the name of all Republicans everywhere throughout our jurisdiction, I nominate to be our next candidate for Presidency, William McKinley."

Governor Roosevelt, of New York, seconds the nomination of William McKinley in the following vigorous speech :

ROOSEVELT SECONDS CONVENTION'S CHOICE

" Mr. Chairman :—I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley, the President who has had to meet and solve problems more numerous and

more important than any other President since the days of mighty Abraham Lincoln; the President under whose administration this country has attained a higher pitch of prosperity at home and honor abroad than ever before in its history. Four years ago the Republican party nominated William McKinley as its standard bearer in a political conflict of graver moment to the nation than any that has taken place since the close of the Civil War which saw us once more a reunited country. The Republican party nominated him; but before the campaign was many days old, he had become the candidate not only of all Republicans, but of all Americans who were both far-sighted enough to see where the true interests of the country lay, and clear-minded enough to be keenly sensitive to the taint of dishonor. President McKinley was triumphantly elected on certain distinct pledges, and those pledges have been made more than good.

We were then in a condition of industrial paralysis. The capitalist was plunged in ruin and disaster; the wage-worker was on the edge of actual want; the success of our opponents would have meant not only immense aggravation of the actual physical distress, but also a stain on the nation's honor so deep that more than one generation would have to pass before it would be effectually wiped out.

We promised that, if President McKinley were elected, not only should the national honor be kept unstained at home and abroad, but that the mill and the workshop should open, the farmer have a market for his goods, the merchant for his wares, and that the wage-worker should prosper as never before. We did not promise the impossible; we did not say that, by good legislation and good administration, there would come prosperity to all men; but we did say that each man should have a better chance to win prosperity than he had ever yet had. In the long run the thrift, industry, energy and capacity of the individual must always remain the chief factors in his success. By unwise or dishonest legislation or administration on the part of the national authorities, all these qualities in the individual can be nullified, but wise legislation and upright administration will give them free scope. And it was this free scope that we promised should be given.

THE FOREIGN POLICY

Well, we kept our word. The opportunity has been given, and it has been seized by American energy, thrift and business enterprise. As a result, we have prospered as never before, and we are now prospering to a degree that would have seemed incredible four years ago, when the cloud of menace to our industrial well-being hung black above the land.

So it has been in foreign affairs. Four years ago the nation was uneasy because right at our doors an American island lay writhing in awful agony

under the curse of worse than mediæval tyranny and misrule. We had our Armenia at our very doors, for the situation in Cuba had grown intolerable, and such that this nation could no longer refrain from interference, and retain its own self-respect. President McKinley turned to this duty as he turned to others. He sought, by every effort possible, to provide for Spain's withdrawal from the island which she was impotent longer to do aught than oppress. Then, when pacific means had failed, and there remained the only alternative, we waged the most righteous and brilliantly successful foreign war that any country has waged during the lifetime of the present generation. It was not a great war, simply because it was won too quickly ; but it was momentous, indeed, in its effects. It left us, as all great feats must leave those who perform them, an inheritance both of honor and of responsibility ; and, under the lead of President McKinley, the nation has taken up the task of securing orderly liberty and the reign of justice and law in the islands from which we drove the tyranny of Spain, with the same serious realization of duty and sincere purpose to perform it that has marked the national attitude in dealing with the economic and financial difficulties that face us at home.

HONOR ABROAD AND PROSPERITY AT HOME

This is what the nation has done during the three years that have elapsed since we made McKinley President ; and all this is what he typifies and stands for. We here nominate him again, and, in November next, we shall elect him again ; because it has been given to him to personify the cause of honor abroad and prosperity at home, of wise legislation and straightforward administration.

We all know the old adage about swapping horses while crossing a stream and the still older adage about letting well enough alone. To change from President McKinley now would be not merely to swap horses. It would be to jump off the horse that had carried us across and wade back into the torrent ; and to put him for four years more into the White House means not merely to let well enough alone, but to insist that when we are thriving as never, never before we shall not be plunged back into the abyss of shame and panic and disaster.

We have done so well that our opponents actually use this very fact as an appeal for turning us out. We have put the tariff on a foundation so secure ; we have passed such wise laws on finance that they actually appeal to the patriotic, honest men who deserted them at the last election to help them now, because, forsooth, we have done so well that nobody need fear their capacity to undo our work. I am not exaggerating. This is literally the argument that is now addressed to the gold Democrats as a reason why they need no longer

stand by the Republican party. To all such who may be inclined to listen to these specious arguments I would address an emphatic word of warning.

Remember that, admirable though our legislation has been during the past three years, it has been rendered possible and effective only because there was good administration to back it. Wise laws are invaluable, but, after all, they are not as necessary as wise and honest administration of the laws.

The best law ever made, if administered by those who are hostile to it, and who mean to break it down, cannot be wholly effective, and may be wholly ineffective. We have at last put our financial legislation on a sound basis, but no possible financial legislation can save us from fearful and disastrous panic if we trust our finances to the management of any man who would be acceptable to the leaders and guides of the Democracy in its present spirit. No Secretary of the Treasury who would be acceptable to or who could without loss of self-respect serve under the Populistic Democracy could avoid plunging the country back into financial chaos. Until our opponents have explicitly and absolutely repudiated the principles which in 1896 they professed, and the leaders who embody these principles, their success means the undoing of the country. Nor have they any longer even the excuse of being honest in their folly. They have raved, they have foamed at the mouth in the denunciation of trusts, and, now, in my own state, their foremost party leaders, including the man before whom the others bow with bared head and trembling knee, have been discovered in a trust which really is of infamous and perhaps of criminal character ; a trust in which these apostles of Democracy, prophets of the new dispensation, have sought to wring fortunes from the dire need of their poorer brethren.

NATIONAL GREATNESS AND PROSPERITY

I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley because with him as leader this country has trod the path of national greatness and prosperity with the strides of a giant, and because, under him, we can, and will, once more and finally overthrow those whose success would mean for the nation material disaster and moral disgrace. Exactly as we have remedied the evils which, in the past, we undertook to remedy, so, now, when we say that a wrong shall be righted it most assuredly will be righted.

We have nearly succeeded in bringing peace and order to the Philippines. We have sent thither and to the other islands toward whose inhabitants we now stand as trustees in the cause of good government men like Wood, Taft and Allen, whose very names are synonyms of integrity, and guarantees of efficiency. Appointees like these, with subordinates chosen on grounds of merit and fitness alone, are evidence of the spirit and methods in, and by which, this nation must approach its new and serious duties. Contrast this with what

would be the fate of the islands under the spoils system so brazenly advocated by our opponents in their last national platform.

The war still goes on because the allies in this country of the bloody insurrectionary oligarchy have taught their foolish dupes abroad to believe that, if the rebellion is kept alive until next November, Democratic success at the polls here will be followed by the abandonment of the islands—that means their abandonment to savages who would scramble for what we desert, until some powerful civilized nation stepped in to do what we would have shown ourselves unfit to perform. Our success in November means peace in the islands.

The success of our political opponents means an indefinite prolongation of misery and bloodshed. We of this convention now renominate the man whose name is a guaranty against such disaster. When we place William McKinley as our candidate before the people we place the Republican party on record as standing for the performance which squares with promise, as standing for the redemption in administration and legislation of the pledges made in the platform and on the stump, as standing for the upbuilding of the national honor and interest abroad, and the continuance at home of the prosperity which it has already brought to the farm and the workshop.

We stand on the threshold of a new century, a century big with the fate of the great nations of the earth. It rests with us now to decide whether, in the opening years of that century, we shall march forward to fresh triumphs, or whether, at the outset, we shall deliberately cripple ourselves for the contest. Is America a weakling, to shrink from the world work that must be done by the world powers? No. The young giant of the West stands on a continent and clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand.

Our nation, glorious in youth and strength, looks into the future with fearless and eager eyes, and rejoices as a strong man to run a race.

We do not stand in craven mood, asking to be spared the task, cringing as we gaze on the contest. No. We challenge the proud privilege of doing the work that Providence allots us, and we face the coming years high of heart and resolute of faith that to our people is given the right to win such honor and renown as has never yet been granted to the peoples of mankind."

HEARTY SECONDED FROM THE SOUTH

John W. Yerkes, of Kentucky, arose to second the nomination of McKinley, on behalf of the South and said :

" Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates : The supreme thought in my mind at this moment is what remains to be said that ought to be said ; and as in time

of danger, one's thought naturally turns to his home, I recall that in the historic Philadelphia Republican Convention of 1856 liberty-loving men from my state sat as delegates in that body. In contrast with this immense audience, this huge hall with its splendor of decoration and its superb equipment, that gathering would seem to be of small import. But in devotion to freedom, in intensity and force of utterance, in eternal results, that assemblage has no peer in the history of conventions.

SHE IS REPUBLICAN TO-DAY

Forty years after that body adjourned, Kentucky, for the first time, gave her electoral vote to a Republican Presidential candidate, Major William McKinley. (Applause.) Recognized as a citadel of Democracy she had capitulated to the Republicans in the noted state campaign of 1895. She was Republican in 1896, Republican in 1899, is Republican to-day (applause,) and as such seconds this nomination. It would be, gentlemen, but a fitting tribute to our President and to the industrial, commercial, diplomatic and martial victories of his administration if every state placed the stamp of its approval upon his course of conduct; and if opportunity were given there would join in this majestic chorus of rational indorsement voices coming across the waters from our new to our old shores; voices coming from our insular possessions to this venerable city where a nation was born consecrated to liberty, to freedom and to independence, and where is there a more fitting place for this universal chorus to sound forth than in this old-time city?

Now, gentlemen, these voices that would come from abroad would ring at every home from which, for the first time, the flag of freedom floats, and that by the orders of our President. Furthermore, to-day there are linked to our progress and to our destiny, and therein stable government, domestic tranquility and Christian civilization are assured to them; and, just as Lincoln's name sounds to the emancipated slave and his children, so the name of President McKinley will be to 70,000,000 of political serfs. (Applause.)

SECTIONAL LINES DISAPPEAR

In 1896 we gave you an old representative slave state. By so doing we removed one charge against our party—that it was sectional. Republicanism marched southward, and this sectional line disappeared from the map. We will do it again. (Applause.) We will still show the people in the North and the South and the East that Republicanism—to use language of our distinguished Chairman—means action, and is always moving forward. A Kentuckian, a lover of my native state, believing in the integrity and honesty of her citizens, I have the fullest confidence in them; I believe they will make final response

to right arguments, and that that response will be made at our polls next November, in electing electors to vote for President William McKinley for re-election." (Applause.)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT NOMINATED In a Speech by Lafayette Young, of Iowa

In nominating Governor Roosevelt for the Vice Presidency, Lafayette Young, of Iowa, said :

" Gentlemen of the Convention : I have listened with profound interest to the numerous indictments pronounced against the Democratic party, and as an impartial reader of history I am compelled to confess that the indictments are only too true. If I am to judge, however, by the enthusiasm of this hour, the Republican Relief Committee sent out four years ago to carry supplies and succor to the prostrate industries of the Republic has returned to make formal report that the duty has been discharged. (Applause.) I could add nothing to this indictment, except to say that this unfortunate party, through four years of legislative and administrative control, had made it, up to 1896, impossible for an honest man to get into debt, or to get out of it.. (Laughter.)

WITHDRAWING DOLLIVER

But, my fellow-citizens, you know my purpose ; you know the heart of this convention. The country never called for patriotic sons from any given family but more were offered than there was room for on the enlistment roll. When this convention and this great party called for a candidate for Vice President two voices responded—one from the Mississippi Valley by birth, another by loving affection and adoption. It is my mission, representing that part of the great Louisiana purchase, to withdraw one of these sons and suggest that the duty be placed upon the other. I therefore withdraw the name of Jonathan P. Dolliver, of Iowa, a man born with the thrill of the Lincoln and Fremont campaigns in his heart and with the power to stir the hearts and consciences of men as part of his birthright. We turn to this other adopted son of the great Middle West, and at this moment I recall that two years ago to-day as many men as there are men and women in this great hall were on board sixty transports lying off Santiago Harbor, in full view of the bay, with Morro Castle looming up upon the right and another prominence upon the left, with the opening of the channel between.

On board those transports were 20,000 soldiers that had gone away from our shores to liberate another race, to fulfill no obligation but that of humanity.

As a campaign follower there were those who witnessed this great spectacle of that fleet, and on the ship *Yucatan* was that famous regiment of Rough Riders of the far West and the Mississippi Valley. (Applause.) In command of that regiment was that fearless young American, student, scholar, plainsman, reviewer, historian, statesman, soldier, of the Middle West by adoption, of New York by birth. That fleet sailing around the point, coming to the place of landing, stood off the harbor two years ago to-morrow, and the navy bombarded that shore to make a place for landing, and no man who lives who was in that campaign as an officer, as a soldier or as a camp follower, can fail to recall the spectacle; and, if he closes his eyes he sees the awful scenes in that campaign in June and July, 1898.

LANDING OF THE TROOPS

Then the landing being completed, there were those who stood upon the shore and saw these indomitable men land, landing in small boats through the waves that dash against the shore, landing without harbor, but land they did, with their accoutrements on and their weapons by their sides, and those who stood upon that shore and saw these men come on thought they could see in their faces, 'Stranger, can you tell me the nearest road to Santiago?' (Applause.)

That is the place they were looking for. And the leader of that campaign of one of those regiments shall be the name that I shall place before this convention for the office of Vice-President of the United States. (Applause.)

There is not under any sun or any clime any man or government that cares to insult the flag of the United States. Not one. We are a greater and a broader people on account of these achievements. Uncle Sam has been made a cosmopolitan citizen of the world. No one questions his prowess or bravery as the result of these campaigns, and as the result of the American spirit, my fellow-citizens, the American soldier, 10,000 miles away from home, with a musket in his hands, says to the aggressor, to those who are in favor of tyranny: "Halt! Who comes there?" and the same spirit says to the beleaguered hosts of liberty: "Hold the fort, for I am coming!"

NAMING THE CANDIDATE

Now, gentlemen of the convention, I place before you this distinguished leader of Republicanism of the United States, this leader of the aspirations of the people, whose hearts are right, and this leader of the aspirations of the young men of this country. Their hearts and consciences are with this young leader, whom I shall name for the Vice Presidency of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, of New York." (Loud cheering.)

In response to a popular call by the convention, who desired to hear the man who in previous conventions had put in nomination New York's favorite sons, Senator Depew took the platform, and, in seconding Roosevelt's nomination, said :

"Gentlemen of the Convention:—Permit me to state to you at the outset that I am not upon the programme; but I will gladly perform the pleasant duty of announcing that New York came here, as did every other delegation, for Colonel Roosevelt for Vice President of the United States. (Applause.) When Colonel Roosevelt expressed to us his wish that he should not be considered, we respected it, and we proposed to place in nomination, by our unanimous vote, our Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Timothy Woodruff. (Applause.) Now that the Colonel has responded to the call of the convention and the demand of the people, New York withdraws Mr. Woodruff and puts Roosevelt in nomination.

I had the pleasure of nominating him two years ago for Governor, when all the signs pointed to the loss of New York in the election, but he charged up and down the old state from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls as he went up San Juan Hill (applause), and the Democrats fled before him as the Spaniards had in Cuba. (Applause.)

It is a peculiarity of American life that our men are not born to anything, but they get there afterward.

McKinley, a young soldier and coming out a major; McKinley, a Congressman and making a tariff; McKinley, a President, elected because he represented the protection of American industries, and McKinley after four years' development, in peace, in war, in prosperity and in adversity, the greatest President save one or two that this country has ever had, and the greatest ruler in Christendom to-day. (Applause.) So with Colonel Roosevelt—we call him 'Teddy.' He was the child of New York, of New York city, the place that you gentlemen from the West think means 'coupons, clubs and eternal damnation for every one.' 'Teddy,' this child of Fifth Avenue—he was the child of the clubs; he was the child of the exclusiveness of Harvard College, and he went West and became a cowboy. (Applause and laughter.) And then he went into the Navy Department and became an assistant secretary. He gave an order and the old chiefs of bureaus came to him and said: 'Why, Colonel, there is no authority and no requisition to burn this powder.'

'Well,' said the Colonel, 'we have got to get ready when war comes, and powder was manufactured to be burned.' (Applause.)

And the burning of that powder sank Cervera's fleet outside of Santiago's harbor and the fleet in Manila Bay. (Applause)

At Santiago a modest voice was heard, exceedingly polite, addressing a militia regiment, lying upon the ground, while the Spanish bullets were flying over them. This voice said : ‘Get one side, gentlemen, one side, gentlemen, please, that my men can get out.’ And when this polite man got his men out in the open, where they could face the bayonet and face the bullet, there was a transformation, and the transformation was that the dude had become a cowboy, the cowboy had become a soldier, the soldier had become a hero, and, rushing up the hill pistol in hand (great applause), the polite man shouted to the militiamen lying down, ‘Give them hell boys! Give them hell!’ (Applause.)

At this point Senator Depew had bowed, and was about to retire from the platform, when voices from all directions were heard calling out, “More,” “Go on!” “Go on!”

The Senator, having in mind the ill-concealed impatience which the audience very audibly had exhibited during the last few minutes of Governor Mount’s speech, retorted, “I thought you were tired.”

There was the response of hearty laughter from all parts of the hall, mingled with calls of “Go on,” and the Senator continued :

Allusion has been made by one of the speakers to the fact that the Democratic Convention is to meet on the Fourth of July. Great Scott! The Fourth of July! (Laughter.) On the Fourth of July all the great heroes of the Revolution, all the great heroes of the War of 1812, all the great heroes of Mexico and the heroes of the war with Spain who are not dead, will be in processions all over the country; those mighty spirits; but they will not be at the Democratic Convention at Kansas City.

A voice from the platform: ‘And the War of the Rebellion.’

Senator Depew—And the war of the Rebellion. There is one gentleman who is detained from there and from the welcome which they would delight to give him, but he is at present engaged in running a foot-race, under the blazing sun, from the soldiers of the United States. (Laughter and applause.) George Washington’s spirit will not be there, but George Washington Aguinaldo, if he could, would be there as a welcome delegate. (Laughter and applause.)

I would like to sit in the gallery and hear the platform read condemning expansion, with Jefferson coming out of the clouds and saying, ‘Who are you? Didn’t my expansion become fifteen States as glorious and as great as any in your convention, and what are you condemning me for?’ Anti-imperialism? Because we are putting down an insurrection in the Philippines?

And from the grave at the Hermitage comes the spirit of old Andrew Jackson, saying, 'Get out of here, or by the eternal I will let you know who I am.' (Laughter and applause.) Anti-acquisition of territory? And then comes a procession of Democrats of the old Democratic party—Jefferson, Monroe, Polk, Pierce—pointing to Louisiana, pointing to New Mexico, pointing to California, pointing to Oregon, pointing to what has made our country first and foremost among the countries of the world. (Applause and cheers.) And then will come the great card of the convention, headed by the great Bryan himself, 'Down with the trusts!' 'Down with the trusts!' And when the applause is over it will be found that the pitchers on the table have been broken by the clashing of the ice within. (Prolonged laughter and cheering.) For that ice will be making merry at 5 cents a chunk.

VINTAGE OF JUNE, 1900

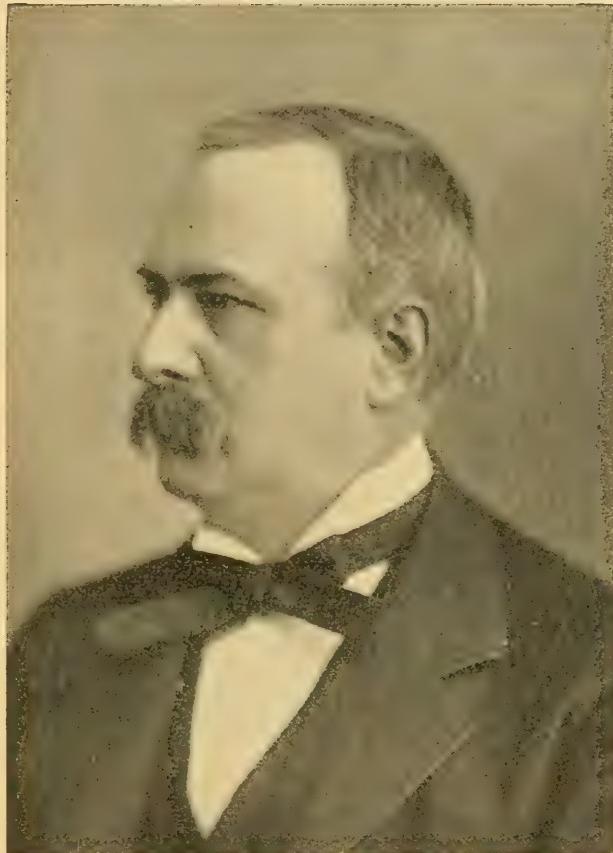
I heard a story (laughter)—this is a brand new story. (Continued laughter.) It is the vintage of June, 1900. Most of my stories are more venerable. There was a lady with her husband in Florida last winter. He consumptive and she a strenuous and a tumultuous woman. (Laughter.) Her one remark was as they sat on the piazza, 'Stop coughing, John.' John had a hemorrhage. The doctor said he must stay in bed six weeks. His tumultuous wife said: 'Doctor, it is impossible. We are traveling on a time limit ticket and we have got several more places to go to.' (Laughter.) So she carried him off. The next station they got to the poor old man died, and the sympathetic hotel proprietor said, 'Poor madame, what shall we do?' She said, 'Box him up, I have got a time limit ticket and several more places to go to.' (Laughter and applause.) Now we tried 16 to 1 in 1896. We put a monument over it weighing as many tons as the Sierra Nevada when gold was put into the statutes by a Republican Congress and the signature of William McKinley.

IT EXPIRES IN NOVEMBER

Colonel Bryan has been a body-snatcher (laughter); he has got the corpse out from under the monument, but it is dead. He has got it in its coffin, carrying it along, as the bereaved widow, because, he says:

'I must, I must. I am wedded to this body of sin and death.' (Laughter.) I must, I must, because I have a time limit ticket which expires in November. (Laughter and applause.)

I remember when I used to go abroad—it is a good thing for a Yankee to go abroad—I used to be ashamed because everywhere they would say: 'What is the matter with the Declaration of Independence when you have slavery in



JOSEPH B. FORAKER.
SENATOR FROM OHIO.



HENRY CABOT LODGE.
SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.



CHARLES EMORY SMITH.
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.



your land?' Well, we took slavery out, and now no American is ashamed to go abroad. When I went abroad afterward the ship was full of merchants buying iron, and buying steel, and buying wool, and buying cotton and all kinds of goods. Now, when an American goes around the world, what happens to him when he reaches the capital of Japan? He rides on an electric railway made by American mechanics; when he reaches the territory of China he rides under an electric light invented by Mr. Edison and put up by American artisans. When he goes over the great railway across Siberia, from China to St. Petersburg, he rides on American rails in cars drawn by American locomotives. When he goes to Germany he finds our iron and steel climbing over a \$2.50 tariff and thereby scaring the Kaiser most out of his wits. (Laughter.) When he reaches the great exposition at Paris he finds the French winemaker saying that American wine cannot be admitted there for the purpose of judgment. When he gets to old London he gets for breakfast California fruit, he gets for lunch biscuit and bread made of Western flour, and he gets for dinner 'roast beef of old England' and taken from the plains of Montana. (Laughter.) His feet rest on a carpet marked Axminster and made at Yonkers, N. Y. (Renewed laughter.)

A REFERENCE; a RECORD

Now, my friends, this canvass we are entering upon is a canvass of the future; the past is only for record and for reference, and, thank God, we have a reference and a record. What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this overproduction goes back to stagnation and to poverty.

The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than we can consume, and we have met the emergency and by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates (applause) we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people with the Pacific as an American lake and the American artisan producing better and cheaper goods than any country in the world; and, my friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm and say that with McKinley for another four years there is no congestion for America. Let invention proceed, let production go on, let the mountains bring forth their treasures, let the factories do their best, let labor be employed at the highest wages, because the world is

ours and we have conquered it by Republican principles and by Republican persistency in the principles of American industry and of America for Americans. (Applause.)

ALL POINTS OF THE COMPASS

You and I, my friends—you from New England with all its culture and its coldness (laughter), and you from the Middle West who, starting from Ohio, and radiating in every direction, think you are all there is of it (laughter), you from the West who produced on this platform a product of New England transformed to the West through New York, that delivered the best presiding officers speech in oratory, and all that makes up a great speech, that has been heard in many a day in any convention in this country (applause, and cries of 'good, good.') It was a glorious thing to see the fervor of the West and the culture and polish of New England giving us an ammunition wagon from which the spell-binder everywhere can draw the powder to shoot down opposition East and West and North and South. (Applause and laughter.)

Many of you I met in convention four years ago. We all feel what little men we were then compared with what we (loud applause)—the statesman and the cowboy (laughter), the accomplished man of affairs and the heroic fighter. The man who has proved great as President, and the fighter who has proved great as Governor. (Applause.) We leave this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and for Roosevelt."

CHAPTER XX.

“The Party of Live Issues.”

Address by Henry Cabot Lodge, Permanent Chairman of the Philadelphia Convention, June 20, 1900,

Declares the Republican Party to be the Party of Live Issues—
New Problems brought by War to be faced with Confidence
—Deeds of the past four years Guarantee the Promises
for the Future—Scholarly and Eloquent Address.

SENATOR LODGE, after being chosen permanent chairman of the convention delivered a powerful and impressive speech, setting forth the splendid accomplishments of the Republican party during the past four years and declaring that these deeds guarantee that the promises of to-day will be fulfilled. His address in full follows :—

One of the greatest honors that can fall to any American in public life is to be called to preside over a Republican National Convention. How great that honor is you know, but you cannot realize, nor can I express, the gratitude which I feel to you for having conferred it upon me. I can only say to you, in the simplest phrase, that I thank you from the bottom of my heart. “ Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks, and yet I thank you.”

We meet again to nominate the next President of the United States. Four years have passed since we nominated the soldier and statesman who is now President, and who is soon to enter upon his second term. Since the Civil War no Presidential term has been so crowded with great events as that which is now drawing to a close. They have been four memorable years. To Republicans they show a record of promises kept, of work done, of unforeseen questions met and answered. To the Democrats they have been generous in the exhibition of unfulfilled predictions, in the ruin of their hopes of calamity, and in futile opposition to the forces of the times and the aspirations of the American people. I wish I could add that they had been equally instructive to our opponents, but while it is true that the Democrats, like the Bourbons, learn

nothing, it is only too evident that the familiar comparison cannot be completed, for they forget a great deal which it would be well for them to remember.

A COMPARISON

In 1897 we took the government and the country from the hands of President Cleveland. His party had abandoned him and were joined to their idols, of which he was not one. During the last years of his term we had presented to us the melancholy spectacle of a President trying to govern without a party. The result was that his policies were in ruin, legislation was at a standstill, and public affairs were in a perilous and incoherent condition. Party responsibility had vanished, and with it all possibility of intelligent action, demanded by the country at home and abroad. It was an interesting but by no means singular display of Democratic unfitness for the practical work of government. To the political student it was instructive, to the country it was extremely painful, to business disastrous.

We replaced this political chaos with a President in thorough accord with his party, and the machinery of government began again to move smoothly and effectively. Thus we kept at once our promise of better and more efficient administration. In four months after the inauguration of President McKinley we had passed a tariff bill. For ten years the artificial agitation, in behalf of what was humorously called tariff reform and of what was really free trade, had kept business in a ferment, and had brought a Treasury deficit, paralyzed industries, depression, panic, and, finally, continuous bad times to a degree never before imagined.

Would you know the result of our tariff legislation, look about you. Would you measure its success, recollect that it is no longer an issue; that our opponents, free traders as they are, do not dare to make it an issue; that there is not a state in the Union to-day which could be carried for free trade against protection. Never was a policy more fully justified by its works; never was a promise made by any party more absolutely fulfilled.

PROMISES MADE AND FULFILLED

Dominant among the issues of four years ago was that of our monetary and financial system. The Republican Party promised to uphold our credit, to protect our currency from revolution, and to maintain the gold standard. We have done so. We have done more. We have been better than our promise. Failing to secure, after honest effort, any encouragement for international bimetallism, we have passed a law strengthening the gold standard and planting it more firmly than ever in our financial system, improving our banking laws, buttressing our credit, and refunding the public debt at 2 per cent. interest,

the lowest rate in the world. It was a great work well done. The only argument the Democrats can advance to-day in their own behalf on the money question is that a Republican Senate, in the event of Democratic success, would not permit the repeal of a Republican law. This is a precious argument when looked at with considerate eyes, and quite worthy of the intellects which produced it. Apply it generally. Upon this theory, because we have defeated the soldiers of Spain and sunk her ships we can with safety dispense with the army and the navy which did the work. Take another example. There has been a fire in a great city; it has been checked and extinguished, therefore let us abolish the fire department and cease to insure our homes. Distrust in our currency, the dread of change, the deadly fear of a debased standard were raging four years ago, and business lay prostrate before them. Republican supremacy and Republican legislation have extinguished the fires of doubt and fear, and business has risen triumphant from the ashes. Therefore abolish your fire department, turn out the Republicans and put in power the incendiaries who lighted the flames, and trust to what remains of Republican control to avert fresh disaster. The proposition is its own refutation.

The supremacy of the party that has saved the standard of sound money and guarded it by law is as necessary for its security and for the existence of honest wages and of business confidence now as it was in 1896.

The moment the Republican party passes from power and the party of free silver and fiat paper comes in, stable currency and the gold standard, the standard of the civilized world, are in imminent and deadly peril. Sound currency and a steady standard of value are to-day safe only in Republican hands.

But there were still other questions in 1896. We had already thwarted the efforts of the Cleveland Administration to throw the Hawaiian Islands back to their dethroned Queen and to give England a foothold for her cables in the group. We then said that we would settle finally the Hawaiian question. We have done so. The traditional American policy has been carried out. The flag of the Union floats to-day over the cross-roads of the Pacific.

THE RESULTS OF THE SPANISH WAR

We promised to deal with the Cuban question. Again comes the reply, we have done so. The long agony of the island is over. Cuba is free. But this great work brought with it events and issues which no man had foreseen, for which no party creed had provided a policy. The crisis came, bringing war in its train. The Republican President and the Republican Congress met the new trial in the old spirit. We fought the war with Spain. The result is history known of all men. We have the perspective now of only a short two years, and yet how clear and bright the great facts stand out, like mountain peaks against the sky, while the gathering darkness of a just oblivion is creep-

ing fast over the low grounds where lie forgotten the trivial and unimportant things, the criticisms and the fault-findings, which seemed so huge when we still lingered among them. Here they are, these great facts:

A war of a hundred days, with many victories and no defeats, with no prisoners taken from us and no advance stayed, with a triumphant outcome startling in its completeness and in its world-wide meaning. Was ever a war more justly entered upon, more quickly fought, more fully won, more thorough in its results? Cuba is free. Spain has been driven from the Western Hemisphere. Fresh glory has come to our arms and crowned our flag. It was the work of the American people, but the Republican party was their instrument. Have we not the right to say, that, here too, even as in the days of Abraham Lincoln, we have fought a good fight, we have kept the faith, we have finished the work?

War, however, is ever like the sword of Alexander. It cuts the knots. It is a great solvent and brings many results not to be foreseen. The world forces unchained in war perform in hours the work of years of quiet. Spain sued for peace. How was that peace to be made? The answer to this great question had to be given by the President of the United States. We were victorious in Cuba, Porth Rico, in the Philippines. Should we give those islands back to Spain? Never! was the President's reply. Would any American wish that he had answered otherwise? Should we hand them over to some other power? Never! was again the answer. Would our pride and self-respect as a nation have submitted to any other reply? Should we turn the islands, where we had destroyed all existing sovereignty, loose upon the world to be a prey to domestic anarchy and the helpless spoil of some other nation? Again the inevitable negative. Again the President answered as the nation he represented would have him answer. He boldly took the islands, took them knowing well the burden and the responsibility; took them from a deep sense of duty to ourselves and others, guided by a just foresight as to our future in the East, and with entire faith in the ability of the American people to grapple with the new task. When future conventions point to the deeds by which the Republican party has made history, they will proclaim with especial pride that under a Republican Administration the war of 1898 was fought, and that the peace with Spain was the work of William McKinley.

A PARTY OF LIVE ISSUES

So much for the past. We are proud of it, but we do not expect to live upon it, for the Republican party is pre-eminently the party of action, and its march is ever forward. We are not so made that we can be content to retreat or to mark time. The traditions of the early days of our party are sacred to us, and are hostages given to the American people that we will not be unworthy of

the great leaders who have gone. The deeds of yesterday are in their turn a proof that what we promise we perform, and that the people who put faith in our declarations in 1896 were not deceived, and may place the same trust in us in 1900. But our pathway has never lain among dead issues, nor have we won our victories and made history by delving in political graveyards. We are the party of to-day, with cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows. The living present is ours, the present of prosperity and activity in business, of good wages and quick payments, of labor employed and capital invested, of sunshine in the market place, and the stir of abounding life in the workshop and on the farm. It is with this that we have replaced the depression, the doubts, the dull business, the low wages, the idle labor, the frightened capital, the dark clouds which overhung industry and agriculture in 1896. This is what we would preserve, so far as sound government and wise legislation can do it. This is what we brought to the country four years ago. This is what we offer now. Again we promise that the protective system shall be maintained, and that our great industrial interests shall go on their way unshaken by the dire fear of tariff agitation and of changing duties. Again we declare that we will guard the national credit, uphold a sound currency based on gold, and keep the wages of the workingman and the enterprise of the man of business free from that most deadly of all evils, a fluctuating standard of value. The deficit which made this great country in a time of profound peace a borrower of money to meet its current expenditures has been replaced by abundant revenues, bringing a surplus, due alike to prosperity and to wise legislation, so ample that we can now safely promise a large reduction of taxation without imperilling our credit or risking a resort to loans.

We are prepared to take steps to revive and build up our merchant marine, and thus put into American pockets the money paid for carrying American freights. Out of the abundant resources which our financial legislation has brought us we will build the Isthmian canal and lay the cables which will help to turn the current of Eastern trade to the Golden Gate. We are on good terms with all nations and mean to remain so, while we promise to insure our peace and safety by maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, by ample coast defences and by building up a navy which no one can challenge with impunity.

THE NEW QUESTIONS.

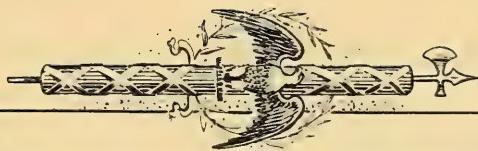
The new problems brought by the war we face with confidence in ourselves and a still deeper confidence in the American people, who will deal justly and rightly with the islands which have come into their charge. The outcry against our new possessions is as empty as the cant about "militarism" and "imperialism" is devoid of sense and meaning.

Regard for a moment those who are loudest in shrieking that the American people are about to enter upon a career of oppression and that the Republic is in danger. Have they been in the past the guardians of freedom? Is safety for liberty now to be found most surely in the party which was the defender of domestic slavery? Is true freedom to be secured by the ascendancy of the party which beneath our very eyes seeks to establish through infamous laws the despotic rule of a small and unscrupulous band of usurpers in Kentucky, who trample there not upon the rights of the black men only but of the whites, and which seeks to extend the same system to North Carolina and Missouri? Has it suddenly come to pass that the Democratic party, which to-day aims whenever it acquires power to continue in office by crushing out honest elections and popular rule, has it indeed come to pass, I say, that that party is the chosen protector of liberty? If it were so the outlook would be black indeed. No! the party of Lincoln may best be trusted now, as in the past, to be true, even as he was true, to the rights of man and to human freedom, whether within the borders of the United States or in the islands which have come beneath our flag. The liberators may be trusted to watch over the liberated. We who freed Cuba will keep the pledge we made to her and will guide her along the road to independence and stable government until she is ready to settle her own future by the free expression of her people's will. We will be faithful to the trust imposed upon us, and if among those to whom this great work is confided in Cuba, or elsewhere, wrongdoers shall be found, men not only bad in morals but dead to their duty as Americans and false to the honor of our name, we will punish these basest of criminals to the extent of the law.

For the islands of Hawaii and Porto Rico the political problem has been solved, and by Republican legislation they have been given self-government, and are peaceful and prosperous under the rule of the United States.

NO BACKDOWN IN THE PHILIPPINES

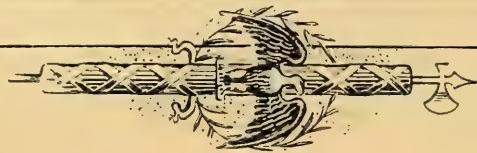
In the Philippines we were met by rebellion, fomented by a self-seeking adventurer and usurper. The duty of the President was to repress that rebellion, to see to it that the authority of the United States, as rightful and as righteous in Manila as in Philadelphia, was acknowledged and obeyed. That harsh and painful duty President McKinley has performed firmly and justly, eager to resort to gentle measures wherever possible, unyielding when treachery and violence made force necessary. Unlike the opponents of expansion, we do not regard the soldiers of Otis, Lawton, and MacArthur as "an enemy's camp." In our eyes they are the soldiers of the United States, they are our army, and we believe in them and will sustain them. Even now the Democrats are planning, if they get control of the House, to cut off appropriations for the



JOHN C. SPOONER.
SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN.



CHARLES H. GROSVENOR.
REPRESENTATIVE FROM OHIO.





REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

army and thus compel the withdrawal of our troops from the Philippines. The result would be to force the retirement of such soldiers as would remain to Manila, and their retreat would be the signal for the massacre and plunder of the great body of the peaceful inhabitants of the islands who have trusted to us to protect and guard them. Such an event would be an infamy. Is the government, is the House, to be given over to a party capable of such a policy? Shall they not rather be entrusted to the party which will sustain the army and suppress the brigands and guerrillas who, under pretence of war, are now adding so freely to the list of crimes committed in the name of liberty by usurpers and pretenders, and who, buoyed up by Democratic promises, keep up a highwayman's warfare in hope of Democratic success in November? It is for the American people to decide this question. Our position is plain. The restoration of peace and order now so nearly reached in the Philippines shall be completed. Civil government shall be established, and the people advanced as rapidly as possible along the road to entire freedom and to self-government under our flag. We will not abandon our task. We will neither surrender nor retreat. We will not write failure across this page of our history. We will do our duty, our full duty, to the people of the Philippines, and strive by every means to give them freedom, contentment, and prosperity. We have no belief in the old slaveholders' doctrine that the Constitution of its own force marches into every newly acquired territory, and this doctrine, which we cast out in 1860, we still reject. We do not mean that the Philippines shall come without our tariff system or become part of our body politic. We do mean that they shall, under our teaching, learn to govern themselves and remain under our flag with the largest possible measure of home rule. We make no hypocritical pretence of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of those people as a sacred trust we regard the welfare of the American people first.

We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and legislation we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and to open new markets. Greatest of all markers is China. Our trade there is growing by leaps and bounds. Manila, the prize of the war, gives us inestimable advantages in developing that trade. It is the corner-stone of our Eastern policy, and the brilliant diplomacy of John Hay in securing from all nations a guarantee of our treaty rights and of the open door in China rests upon it. We ask the American people whether they will throw away those new markets and widening opportunities for trade and commerce, by putting in power the Democratic party, which seeks under cover of a newly discovered affection for the rights of man to give up these islands of the East and make Dewey's victory

fruitless? The choice lies between this Democratic policy of retreat and the Republican policy, which would hold the islands and give them freedom and prosperity, and enlarge those great opportunities for ourselves and for posterity.

The Democratic attitude toward the Philippines rests wholly upon the proposition that the American people have neither the capacity nor the honesty to deal rightly with these islands. They assume that we shall fail. They fall down and worship a Chinese half-breed, whose name they had never heard three years ago, and they slander and cry down and doubt the honor of American soldiers and sailors, of Admirals and Generals, and public men who have gone in and out before us during an entire lifetime. We are true to our own. We have no distrust of the honor, the humanity, the capacity of the American people. To feel or do otherwise is to doubt ourselves, our government, and our civilization. We take issue with the Democrats who would cast off the Philippines, and we declare that the American people can be trusted to deal wisely and generously with these distant islands and will lift them up to a higher prosperity, a broader freedom, and a nobler civilization than they have ever known. We have not failed elsewhere. We shall not fail here.

These are the questions we present to the American people in regard to the Philippines. Do they want such a humiliating change there as Democratic victory would bring? Do they want an even more radical change at home? Suppose the candidate of the Democrats, the Populists, the foes of expansion, the dissatisfied, and the envious should come into power, what kind of an administration would he give us? What would his Cabinet be? Think what an electric spark of confidence would run through every business interest in the country when such a Cabinet was announced as we can readily imagine he would make. More important still, we ask the American people whether they will put in the White House the hero of uncounted platforms, the prodigal spendthrift of words, the champion of free silver, the opponent of expansion, the assailant of the Courts; or whether they will retain in the Presidency the Union soldier, the leader of the House of Representatives, the trained statesman who has borne the heavy burdens of the last four years, the champion of protection and sound money, the fearless supporter of law and order whenever the flag floats?

WILL YOU RISK A CHANGE

But there is one question which we will put to the American people in this campaign which includes and outweighs all others. We will say to them: You were in the depths of adversity under the last Democratic Administration; you are on the heights of prosperity to-day. Will that prosperity continue if you make a change in your President and in the party which administers your government? How long will your good times last if you turn out the Repub-

licans and give political power to those who cry nothing but "Woe! Woe!" —the lovers of calamity and foes of prosperity, who hold success in business to be a crime and regard thrift as a misdemeanor? If the Democrats should win, do you think business would improve? Do you think that prices would remain steady, that wages would rise and employment increase when that result of the election was known? Business confidence rests largely upon sentiment. Do you think that sentiment would be a hopeful one the day after Bryan's election? Business confidence is a delicate plant. Do you think it would flourish with the Democratic party? Do you not know that if Bryan were elected, the day after the news was flashed over the country wages would go down, prices would decline, and that the great argosy of American business now forging ahead over calm waters, with fair breezes and with swelling canvas, would begin to take in sail and seek shelter and anchorage of the nearest harbor? Do you not know from recent and bitter experience what that arrest of movement, that fear of the future means? It means the contraction of business, the reduction of employment, the increase of the unemployed, lower wages, hard times, distress, unhappiness. We do not say that we have panaceas for every human ill. We do not claim that any policy we or any one else can offer will drive from the world sorrow and suffering and poverty, but we say that so far as government and legislation can secure the prosperity and well-being of the American people our administration and our policies will do it. We point to the adversity of the Cleveland years lying dark behind us. It has been replaced by the prosperity of the McKinley years. Let them make whatever explanation they will, the facts are with us.

It is on these facts that we shall ask for the support of the American people. What we have done is known, and about what we intend to do there is neither secrecy nor deception. What we promise we will perform. Our old policies are here, alive, successful and full of vigor. Our new policies have been begun, and for them we ask support. When the clouds of impending civil war hung dark over the country in 1861 we took up the great task then laid upon us and never flinched until we had carried it through to victory. Now at the dawn of a new century, with new policies and new opportunities opening before us in the bright sunshine of prosperity, we again ask the American people to entrust us with their future. We have profound faith in the people. We do not distrust their capacity of meeting the new responsibilities, even as they met the old, and we shall await with confidence, under the leadership of William McKinley, the verdict of November.

CHAPTER XXI.

Republican Platform Adopted At Philadelphia, June 20, 1900

A Declaration of Republican Party Principles—War Taxes,
Expansion, Trusts, Government of New Possessions,
and Other Vital Questions Stated

THE following is a brief synopsis of the Republican Platform, which is given in full below.

The party endorses President McKinley's Administration ; asserts its allegiance to the gold standard and its steadfast opposition to the free coinage of silver ; it condemns conspiracies and combinations to restrict business ; re-affirms its policy of protection and reciprocity ; declares for more effective restriction of immigration of cheap labor ; and upholds Civil Service reform.

Declares that there can be no discrimination on account of race or color ; stands for good roads ; rural free delivery ; free homes ; reclamation of arid lands ; favors statehood for New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma ; promises reduction of war taxes ; declares for an Isthmian Canal and an open door in China ; women are congratulated on the work in camp and hospital ; re-affirms the Monroe Doctrine and approves the tender of good offices to end the war in South Africa ; promises restoration of order and establishment of self-government in the Philippines and independence to Cuba.

THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations :

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate

and a Republican Congress has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the National credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away, and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value.

PROMISES MADE AND KEPT

The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligation. Every American dollar is a gold dollar, or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican Administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted, and in victory concluded, a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

THE ADMINISTRATION ENDORSED

We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking

untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been, in every situation, the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to endorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican Party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic Party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic Party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity when Democratic success at the polls is announced halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

THE GOLD STANDARD APPROVED

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard, and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis have been secured. We recognize that interest rates are potent factors in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

RENEWED DECLARATION FOR PROTECTION

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production or control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent

all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity for the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them finally to enter the markets of the world.

We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The National defence and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS. CIVIL SERVICE

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal, and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the Civil Service Rules. The Administration has acted wisely in

its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the Several States.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate National legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

We favor home rule for and the early admission to statehood of the territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

The Dingley act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly funded 2 per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

THE Isthmian CANAL

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian canal by the government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China. In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a department of commerce and industries in the charge of a secretary with a seat in the Cabinet.

The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department, upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

The American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

THE WOMEN CONGRATULATED

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association, and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

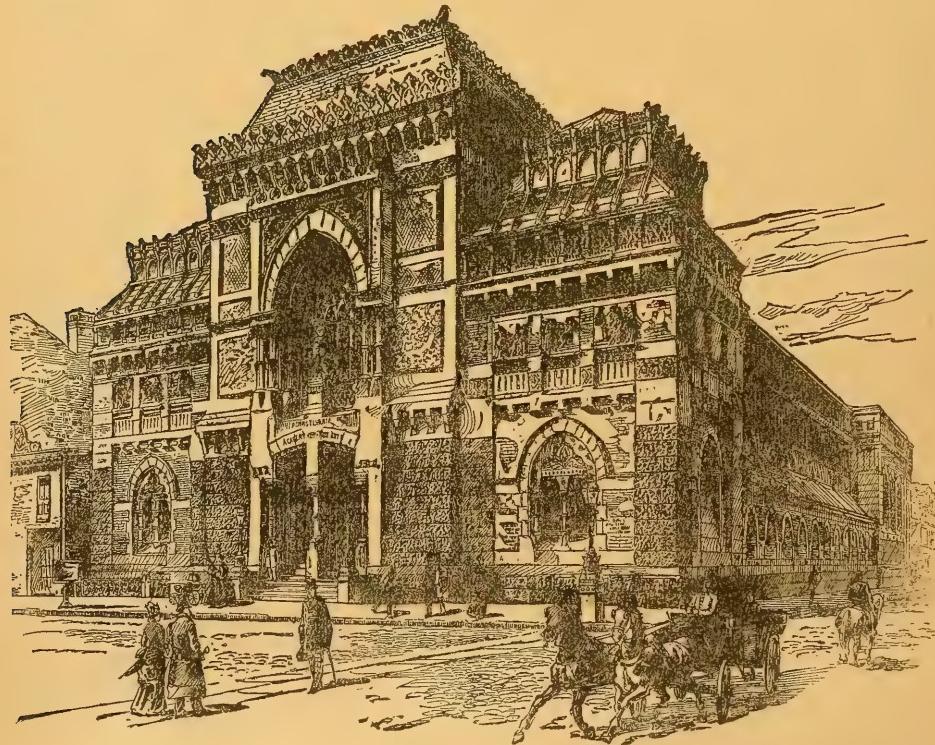
We commend the part taken by our government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of The Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republics. While the American government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by The Hague Treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it

became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party upon its history, and upon this declaration of its principles and policies, confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.



CHAPTER XXII

The Life and Public Services of Theodore Roosevelt

Republican Candidate for Vice President Nominated
June 21, 1900

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT is Andrew Jackson educated,” said a prominent man, while the hero of the Rough-Riders was making the race for Governor of the State of New York in October, 1898.

No man of his age in America has been a more uncompromising reformer or waged a more relentless warfare against corrupt and designing public officials. Both in public and private, he has been always the staunch, fearless champion of the right.

Mr. Roosevelt is a native of New York City, where he was born October 27, 1858. The family of the Roosevelts have lived in New York from the time of the old Dutch Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, and throughout every generation they have been represented by some upright and honorable man of their name in the public service.

At the age of eighteen young Roosevelt entered Harvard College, where he graduated in 1880, shortly before he was twenty-two years of age, after which he went abroad and continued his studies for a time in Dresden, traveled in Europe and in Asia, and at the age of twenty-three returned to New York and took up the study of law in the office of his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt, but soon after abandoned it for politics.

In 1882, when the members of the General Assembly met at Albany, Theodore Roosevelt went as the representative of his district. He was the youngest member of the Legislature, but he

soon made himself what he has been ever since—a storm centre. Within two months he had studied his colleagues and divided them into two classes—the good and the bad—and, to the astonishment and dismay of the latter, opened an uncompromising war, with himself the undisputed leader of the incorruptible minority. It was nothing to him that he had a bitter majority of corrupt politicians to fight, nor that the strong and powerful press lampooned him without mercy as “an egotistical popinjay.” He knew it was right to fight and expose corruption, and his courage faltered not once. He was re-elected twice. The reforms which his aggressive daring effected during his three terms in the New York Legislature saved the public hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, which had formerly gone into the “grab-bag” of the spoilsman in office.

In 1884 Mr. Roosevelt was sent as an instructed delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, and two years later, 1886, at the age of 28, he made the race for Mayor of New York, and, though defeated he polled the largest Republican vote ever given to any candidate for that office by his party up to that time.

ON THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

In 1889, President Harrison appointed the dauntless young reformer President of the United States Civil Service Commission, which position he filled for six years, four of them under President Cleveland, who, recognizing his ability, courage, and sterling integrity, continued him in that office. When he accepted the office he saw there was an heroic work to be done in the correction of public abuses, and that he would have the bitterest and most powerful opposition in Congress and out of it; but it was a work that he liked, and with the conviction that the spoil-monger and the bribe-giver were equally bad, he assailed them both without favor or mercy, grappling publicly and privately with every stripe of politician; he “ousted rascals,” and enforced the law as it had never been enforced before.

In 1895, after the Parkhurst crusade against corrupt administration in New York City, which resulted in the overthrow of a

municipal ring by the election of Mayor Strong, the question arose, "Who is brave enough, and wise enough, and strong enough to head the Board of Police Commissioners and enforce the principles of reform?" Roosevelt was chosen. Within a month he was at once the most hated and the best-beloved man in New York City. His clear and rigid interpretation of the laws was a marvel even to his friends, and his prompt, uncompromising enforcement of them was an astonishment alike to policemen and offenders. The promptness and rapidity of his action was like a whirlwind, spreading consternation among all law-breakers.

PRESIDENT OF POLICE BOARD

The politicians tried to entangle him, but he foiled and eluded them at every attempt by speaking the plain truth and sticking to the plain law, which he enforced with impartiality against rich and poor alike. Many of the laws had been dead-letters for years. Under him they became instantly alive and active. When prominent citizens and influential newspapers protested, he answered : "I am placed here to enforce the law as I find it. I shall enforce it. If you don't like the law repeal it." The police at first learned to fear him, for he brooked no neglect of duty ; then, to respect him, for he worked more hours than he required of them, and demanded nothing but simple duty ; then to love him, for he quickly recognized and rewarded merit.

When the Cuban war began to excite this country intensely in 1897, Mr. Roosevelt remarked to a friend, "We shall be compelled to fight Spain before a year passes." It was this belief that induced him to give up the position in the New York Police Department and accept the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy, when it was offered to him by President McKinley in 1897. His first work was to ascertain the needs of the navy. "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means to promote peace," said Washington, and this became Roosevelt's motto in his new position. He suggested and put through a measure to get every American war-vessel in fighting trim, and to fill every foreign coaling

station with an ample supply of fuel. It was this which enabled Dewey to move so promptly from Hong Kong to Manila, and it was Roosevelt who urged the sending of the dispatch instructing the now famous Admiral to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila immediately upon the declaration of war. Peace Commissioner Cushman K. Davis declared : "If it had not been for Roosevelt we should not have been able to strike the blow we did at Manila. It was Roosevelt's forethought, energy and promptness that made it possible."

ORGANIZES THE ROUGH-RIDERS

Six days after Dewey's victory Mr. Roosevelt resigned his portfolio in the Navy Department and organized the now famous Rough Riders (Seventy-first New York Cavalry), composed of cow-boys, policemen, and rich young society men—all good horsemen, good shots, and full of courage. He had enjoyed four years' training as militiaman in the National Guards of the State of New York, in which he held the rank of captain, consequently he was competent for the colonelcy of his regiment, which was offered him, but, with characteristic generosity, he declined the honor, suggesting his friend, Dr. Leonard Wood, a surgeon and trained Indian-fighter, as colonel, himself accepting the second place in command. At Las Guasimas, the first engagement of his regiment in Cuba, he fought with marked bravery, and when Colonel Wood was advanced to brigadier-general after that battle, Mr. Roosevelt was advanced to colonel, in which capacity he served during the remainder of the war. The stories of their colonel's bravery, generosity and kindness, as told by the Rough-Riders, would fill a volume. It was an act of reciprocity. Roosevelt loved his men; and when they were mustered out of service in September, 1898, he presented every man of them with a medal of honor and saw that none of them went away in need.

Mr. Roosevelt is fond of outdoor life and is an enthusiastic sportsman, in the nobler sense of that term. During his fifteen years of busy toil he has found time to make threescore or more

trips into the "wild and woolly West." He owns a large ranch in the Bad Lands of North Dakota, and this is his retreat for rest and recreation.

HIS HOME LIFE

When at home he lives in a comfortable, roomy house with pleasant grounds surrounding it, on Oyster Bay, Long Island. He married Miss Edith K. Carow in 1886, and at the time of his inauguration as Governor of New York, January 2, 1899, he had two daughters and three sons.

Mr. Roosevelt is a man of comfortable fortune, but he believes and delights in constant employment. He has done enough literary work to entitle him to renown, though one hardly misses the time in which he did it from the stirring scenes of public life. When he was 23 years of age he finished his history of "The Naval War of 1812." This book has since become the standard history of that period, and a copy of it is in the library of every American warship. Following this came the four-volumed work, "Winning of the West," a history of the acquirement by our government of the territory west of the Alleghenies. This work is perhaps the most important, evincing great original research, and is regarded by authorities as a standard history. His "Life of T. H. Benton" and "The Life of Governor Morris" stamp him as a biographer of ability. His "History of the City of New York" is the best on the subject. A series of hero tales from American history, and "The Imperial History of the British Navy," his last work, done in collaboration with Captain A. T. Mahan, make up a bulk of carefully done historical writing not exceeded, perhaps, by any man of his years in America.

Out of his Western experiences he has produced three large volumes, entitled "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," "The Wilderness Hunter," and "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," which are acknowledged the most excellent works on the hunting of large game in America. Two volumes of his miscellaneous essays have also been published. His style is nervous, energetic, direct, and entertaining; his descriptions vivid and true to nature.

Governor Roosevelt is a thorough Republican in principle; but he is a patriot before a partisan. "I do not number party allegiance among the Ten Commandments," he once said. "There are times," he continued, "when it may be the duty of a man to break with his party. * * * If we had no independence we should always be running the risk of the most degraded kind of despotism—the despotism of the party boss and the party machine." "Be sure you are right and then go ahead" has been no man's motto more than Theodore Roosevelt's in all his past public acts; and, in the pursuit of the course of right, as he saw it, for the public good, he has been as patriotic as George Washington, as discreet and honest as Abraham Lincoln, and as courageous as Andrew Jackson—the three great statesmen and patriots who have been his models.

In the best sense of the word Theodore Roosevelt is a democrat. More than any other young man of his generation who has been in the public eye, he has believed in and practised the real truth that is in democracy, which is equality of opportunity and of right before the law for every man. Mr. Roosevelt sincerely looks upon every man as possessing exactly the same equality of opportunity and of rights which he himself possesses, and that explains why it is that when he goes over to the East Side of New York the workingmen cheer and swing their dinner pails for "Teddy," for they know that at heart he holds them as standing before the law exactly as he does himself.

When the Republican Convention met in Philadelphia in June, 1900, his name was prominently mentioned for the second place on the ticket. It seemed that the party leaders would force upon him the nomination. He steadfastly expressed it as his wish to complete the work he had undertaken at Albany and asked that his name be not presented to the convention. But it proved that the people, and not the party leaders, were behind the movement, and when he recognized this, he yielded, and when the nomination came to him so unanimously, he accepted gracefully.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Political Leaders and Statesmen of the Day

James K. Jones

Senator from Arkansas—Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

JAMES K. JONES, Senator from Arkansas, and chairman of the National Democratic Committee, was born in Marshall County, Miss., September 29, 1839. He received a classical education at one of the Southern institutions, and, at the breaking out of the war of 1861, enlisted as a private soldier in a Mississippi regiment. At the close of the war he returned to private life on the farm in Arkansas, and took up the study of law. He was admitted to practice in 1873, and the same year was elected to the State Senate. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1874, and continued in the State Senate, where he was elected President of the Senate in 1877. He represented his state in the Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, and served with credit. He succeeded Hon. James D. Walker as United States Senator from Arkansas, March 18, 1885, and has since been re-elected twice. His term expires March 20, 1903.

At the Chicago Convention, in 1896, he was made chairman of the Democratic National Committee—though previously he had not been a conspicuous leader in politics.

HIS FINANCIAL VIEWS

When the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act was pending in the United States Senate, Senator Jones was one of its bitterest opponents. Like other bimetallists, he held that the law was unscientific and illogical, and that under it silver was

degraded to the position practically of token money. But he saw as most representatives of Southern and Western communities saw, that the law prevented any very grave contraction of the currency, and he sturdily refused to aid in its repeal until some substitute, which would accomplish the same purpose, was assured. It is a curious commentary on the way in which, of late years, the constitutional barrier between the executive and legislative departments of the government has been broken down, that negotiations for that substitute were conducted not with representatives of the majority in the House or Senate, but with representatives of the President, Mr. Cleveland. There have been charges and countercharges made concerning the good faith of the President in these negotiations. Enough now to say that after fighting the repeal for three months, Senator Jones at last signed a compromise which he thought was approved at the White House. The repudiation by Mr. Cleveland and his followers of that compromise and the passage of an unconditional repeal law so embittered the Arkansas Senator that he declared he would never again be a party to a compromise on the silver question.

PERSONAL MAGNETISM

His state is both Southern and Western. It is essentially an agricultural state, and he, in record and in manner, is the ideal representative of a farming community. He is a big man, given much to the flowing frock coats of Southern statesmanship; handsome of face, with a noble brow, a beard just whitening and blue eyes that would be kindly except that they seem to be always seeking for the purpose of the visitor. In speech, he is gentle and polite—when he wants to be—and bluff and decisive when the need arises. His method of conducting a campaign is diametrically opposed to that of his distinguished opponent.

His manner is open and frank, his speech disarms suspicion. His demeanor is that of a man who is playing a game which can be won by main strength, not by chicanery. He conceals his plan of campaign as little as the man at bat conceals his purpose to hit the ball as hard as he can. And yet the men who know this

bluff, hearty, outspoken chairman best wonder if beneath it all there is not some quiet concealment of his real activities in the campaign.

John Hay

Author—Diplomat—Secretary of State.

JOHN HAY, President McKinley's Secretary of State, is of Scotch parentage. His ancestor, John Hay, arrived in Virginia in the middle of the last century. The grandfather of John Hay was a Revolutionary soldier, and afterwards lived in Kentucky. Charles Hay, the father of the present Secretary, was a successful physician in Salem, Indiana, and the mother of John Hay was a daughter of the Rev. David A. Leonard, of Rhode Island; consequently the son, when old enough to go to college, was sent to Brown University, where he completed his education. He early showed fondness for English literature and writing. Some of his first poems were written while in college, and were noted for their humor and vivacity. Soon after leaving college, the event which influenced his future career transpired, when he was invited by Abraham Lincoln to enter his law house, at Springfield. At that time Mr. Lincoln was at the head of his profession, and becoming known in political circles outside of his own state. Mr. Lincoln trusted the young man implicitly, and called upon him for services which many would expect to get from older assistants. Very soon after entering Mr. Lincoln's office, the contest was on for the presidency of 1860, which gave Mr. Hay an opportunity to study politics, even at the expense of not learning much law. He was admitted to the bar just before Mr. Lincoln left for Washington to assume the duties of the Presidency. He accompanied Mr. Lincoln to Washington and became one of his secretaries. Soon after he came to Washington he met the daughter of Amos Stone, a friend of Mr. Lincoln's, whom he afterwards married.

He obtained his title of colonel while acting as the President's adjutant, which took him to the field for the purpose of observation and bringing information to the Commander-in-Chief.

It is true that Mr. Hay was not widely known in political circles until President McKinley appointed him as ambassador to Great Britain, March 19, 1897; but during all the previous years he had exercised a potent influence in politics, occasionally making speeches which were clever and cogent. He was frequently called into the Republican councils, and freely gave of his time and means in contributing to the success of his party. His short residence of eighteen months in England enabled him to make many acquaintances and become familiar with the condition of European politics.

Assuming the duties of Secretary of State he has shown that, while he is aggressive in upholding American rights, he firmly believes in Washington's policy of avoiding foreign entanglements. He is likewise an upholder of the Monroe Doctrine; consequently he has been able to keep the country out of European troubles and assert American rights in the western hemisphere. Probably his greatest achievement will be remembered as "the open door" policy which he has pursued in the treatment of Oriental relations.

He must have foreseen what the policy of the European governments would be in the East, and knew that our acquiring the Philippine Islands would be a step towards the expansion of the United States as a commercial power. His administration is also marked by the settlement of the Samoan question, which has been so troublesome and costly. In this settlement, the United States gets the island of Tutuila, which has one of the best harbors in the Pacific, and this without depriving the United States of any of its commercial privileges in the Samoan group. He has also arranged with Great Britain in such a manner that there will be no trouble in regard to the boundary line for the disputed territory in Alaska. We cannot omit mentioning also the prominent part the United States took at the conference at The Hague, at which the great powers came to an understanding as to the settlement of disputes. Secretary Hay's contribution to the success of the conference is well known.

Lyman Judson Gage

Secretary of THE Treasury.

LYMAN JUDSON GAGE, financier, was born in De Ruyter, Madison County, New York, June 26, 1836. He is descended from Thomas Gage, who came to Yarmouth, Cape Cod, from England, about 1640. His son Benjamin had a son Thomas, who settled in Dutchess County, New York. About 1800, Ebenezer, son of the last-named Thomas, became a resident of Madison County, New York. He had a family of several sons, one of whom was Justus, who had a son Eli A., father of the subject of this sketch. All those named were farmers except his father, who, for a time lived in Rome, Oneida County, New York, where he engaged in commercial business. The son received a common school education in his native county of Madison, and upon removal of his parents to Oneida County, he had for a short time the advantages of Rome Academy. Upon the removal of his father to Chicago, in 1855, he entered, in a subordinate position, a banking institution in that city. He rose rapidly through the various grades until in 1868 he became cashier of the First National Bank of Chicago, and in 1882 its president, as, in fact, he had been its manager for many years. The growth of this remarkable financial concern is a part of the life of Mr. Gage. Under his guidance, it not only survived several trying periods in the history of the rapidly growing city, but it came to be a leading, and, at times, the most powerful bank in the United States. Its stock in 1868 was worth not more than par, and notwithstanding dividends of ten per cent. paid annually since that time, the value of principal invested therein has increased sixfold. It was one of the institutions to survive the crisis of the great fire of 1871, and the panic, no less destructive of values, of 1873. In those days of wrecks it stood as an example to other banks, and by its moral influence sustained several which would have otherwise gone to the wall.

Distinguished as have been Mr. Gage's achievements in building up a powerful banking house, they are, while better known,

perhaps not to be compared with successes involved in the municipal growth of Chicago. The growth of that city from 60,000 to nearly 2,000,000 of people gave full employment to his energies, both in relation to the many social and economic problems incidental to such a development and to the enormous expansion of business affairs of the bank to which he was related.

He organized the Chicago Clearing House Association, was its president for a number of years, and always a member of the Executive Committee. He has three times been President of the American Bankers' Association, and President of the Commercial Club of Chicago, a strong organization limited in number to sixty and composed only of representative business men.

He has contributed much by his pen to the public causes in which he has been interested. When in the early seventies the growth of the greenback movement became pronounced, he was active in organizing the Honest Money League which began a campaign of education against the rapidly spreading movement for a permanent paper currency. His writings at that time were widely circulated, and doubtless contributed much toward arresting the spread of the movement. He is a clear writer, and his style possesses much literary merit. He has the happy faculty of stating the truth attractively and convincingly.

The National Treasury is so closely identified with the business life of the country that it needs must have at its head a careful and experienced financier. When at the close of the memorable campaign of 1896, during which questions relating to the currency of the country overwhelmed all other issues, resulting in the election of President McKinley, Mr. Gage was called upon to preside over the Treasury Department, there was universal agreement that the selection was one which could not have been more fittingly made. He is a philosopher and a student of social and moral problems as they affect the nation's life, and he possesses still that force of intellect which has made him, for a quarter of a century, a leading citizen of one of America's greatest cities.

Benjamin Ryan Tillman

Senator from South Carolina.

BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN was born in Edgefield County, S. C., August 11, 1847. His father was a successful planter of more than ordinary intelligence, and a very influential citizen. Reared on the farm, young Tillman was properly instructed in the management of a large plantation, and was given such educational advantages as the common schools of the county afforded. The boy was bright and apt, full of vitality and imbued with all the characteristics of the Southern youth of that day. He was fond of reading, and, though his school days were abruptly ended in 1864, his education did not stop.

After the close of the Civil War the subject of this sketch, having recovered from a severe illness, set himself resolutely to the task of building up the shattered family estates, and to the still more difficult task of redeeming his neighborhood and county from utter ruin. In this he was not alone; but Ben Tillman was a leader. His good judgment, steady nerve and unfaltering determination in the face of difficulties made him a leader. He took the best papers and periodicals, studied human nature closely, and was unflinching in the solution of problems and the settling of questions that made other men hesitate.

In the trying days of '76, when the intelligent people of South Carolina determined to rid the state of the fearful octopus that had been sucking her life since '65, Ben Tillman, now Captain Tillman, found ample opportunities for the exercise of his varied powers.

The state redeemed and in the hands of the intelligent and property-owning element of the commonwealth, Captain Tillman settled down to the routine of his farm life.

A close student of current events and of life in all its phases, and now thoroughly convinced that the prime trouble with his people was a lack of industrial and technical education, Captain Tillman

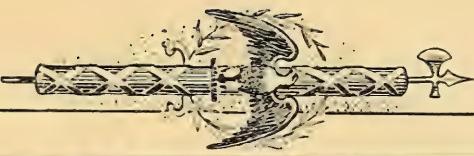
in October, 1885, wrote a series of articles for the *Charleston News and Courier*, which attracted wide-spread attention.

In January, 1890, B. R. Tillman and E. B. Gary were declared the farmers' candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Then the leading papers of the state tried to rule the farmers out of the Democratic party.

A red hot campaign followed. But the campaign ended without any riot or serious bloodshed. Tillman swept the State.

Tillman and his followers would not be ruled out of the Democratic party. They proposed to make a canvass of the state, then go into the regular September convention and whip the fight, and they did it. In that convention Tillman was nominated Governor with a full state ticket made up of his supporters. As the government was in the hands of the white people, a nomination at this convention was tantamount to an election.

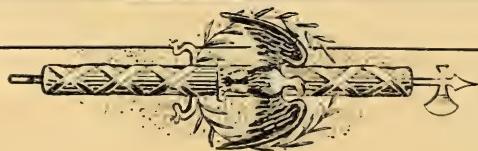
Opposition to Governor Tillman during his first term of office was bitter and strong, and at the end of two years a full opposition state ticket was put in the field. This was known as the Conservative ticket and was made up of strong men with Colonel John C. Sheppard at the head. Another bitter campaign followed, Governor Tillman and his ticket winning the second time by a large majority. Governor Tillman advocated a canvass of the state by candidates for seats in the United States Senate. He believed that the people had a right to hear and know the views of men aspiring to positions of trust and responsibility. General M. C. Butler's third term of United States Senator expiring as Governor Tillman's second term as Governor ended, the Governor declared himself a candidate for General Butler's seat in the Senate. Again a canvass of the state was made and again was Tillman the winner. Senator Tillman's record as a national law maker is known and read of all men who care to know the sayings and doings of the leaders of the nation. He is unquestionably a man of wonderful brain power, and in clearness, directness, and effectiveness of speech he has few equals in America.



WHARTON BARKER.
NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT
BY POPULIST CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI, 1900.



IGNATIUS DONNELLY.
NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
BY POPULIST CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI, 1900.





WILLIAM B. ALLISON
SENATOR FROM IOWA.



MATTHEW S. QUAY
REPUBLICAN LEADER OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Albert J. Beveridge

Senator from Indiana.

THE STORY OF A CAREER FROM LOGGING-CAMP TO CONGRESS.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, was born on a farm in Highland County Ohio, October 6, 1862. His father, having been a soldier in the Civil War, came home to find himself penniless, and with a small family to provide for. He removed to Illinois, where Albert was educated in a country school and worked on a farm in summer. During the day he worked as a boss in the logging-camp, and at night studied to gain the knowledge necessary to prepare himself for college. It was not until he was twenty-one that he was able to enter college at Greencastle, Indiana. At college he maintained himself by working during vacation times, and accepting such remunerative work as he could obtain during the college term. He took several cash prizes during his course. He was a leader not only in the college debating society and athletics, but also in literary work. He was always recognized as a leader on one side or the other of every collegiate and intercollegiate contest. When he left college he had no money and little else than the clothing on his back, and his fare paid to the West. After a year on the ranch in which he regained a strong constitution, he returned to Indianapolis, and accepted a position of reading clerk in the House of Representatives. He here made enough of money to pay his expenses as a student of law in one of the large offices of that city. In 1889, he was able to open an office for himself. He has met with remarkable success as practicing attorney, and has been employed in many of the great cases that have come before the Indianapolis courts in recent years. Probably no lawyer in Indiana has had more important cases on constitutional law than has Mr. Beveridge.

As an orator he has few equals, and probably this more than anything else has brought him fame throughout the United States.

He is widely known as a public speaker, and is in great demand for many public occasions.

In the election of 1898 in Indiana he took great interest and performed some important work in securing the success of the Republican party in that state. Having many good and influential friends in that party, they organized themselves to secure for him the nomination, and after a spirited contest he was elected to United States Senate, January 17, 1899. His term will expire March 3, 1905. Socially he is charming in his manner, vivacious and good humored. He entered the United States Senate at an age much younger than the average senator, and has a brilliant career before him. His ambition, intellect, tact, and good judgment, together with a fine physical and mental strength will secure for him one of the leading places in that body.

In the summer of 1899 he visited the Philippine Islands and gathered much important information which he used in preparing a speech delivered in United States Senate during the winter of 1900. This attracted attention far and wide, and was listened to with marked attention by his colleagues.

Henry Cabot Lodge.

Author, Statesman and Republican Senator from Massachusetts

One of the most distinguished men of the day, known as well for literary and scholarly pursuits as for political acumen, is Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts. He received a thorough preparation for college, and graduated with honor from Harvard University in 1871, and in the law department in 1875, receiving the degree of Bachelor of law. Literature being more to his taste, he contributed articles to the "North American Review" and to the "International Review," and has written several volumes of biography and history. He has served in the Legislature of his own state, and represented his district in Congress. In 1893, he was elected to the United States Senate, where he has taken high rank as statesman and orator.

Chauncey Mitchell Depew

Orator, Financier, Senator.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW was born at Peekskill, New York, April 23, 1834. His remote ancestors were French Huguenots, who founded New Rochelle, in Westchester County. His father, Isaac Depew, was a prominent and highly esteemed citizen of Peekskill, and his mother, Martha Mitchell was a representative of the distinguished New England family, one of whose members, Roger Sherman, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

EARLY CAREER.

Mr. Depew spent his boyhood in Peekskill, where he prepared for college. He was a bright student, and at the age of eighteen entered Yale College, from which he was graduated in 1856, with one of the first honors of his class. In June, 1887, Yale conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. It will be noted that Mr. Depew reached his majority at about the time of the formation of the Republican party. Although of Democratic antecedents, he had been a close student of politics, and his sympathies were with the aims of the new political organization, to which he speedily gave his allegiance.

Mr. Depew studied law in his native village, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. In the same year, Vanderbilt became his firm friend. In 1866 Mr. Depew was appointed the attorney of the New York and Harlem Railroad Company, and three years later, when that road was consolidated with the New York Central, he was made the attorney of the new organization, being afterwards elected a member of the Board of Directors.

As other and extensive roads were added to the system, Mr. Depew, in 1875 was promoted to be general counsel for them all, and elected to a directorship in each of the numerous organizations. The year previous, the Legislature had made him Regent of the State University, and one of the Commissioners to build the Capitol at Albany.

At the National Republican convention in 1888, New York voted solidly for Mr. Depew as its candidate for the Presidency, but he withdrew his name. At the convention at Minneapolis in 1892, he was selected to present the name of President Harrison, and made one of the best speeches of his life. When Mr. Blaine resigned as Secretary of State, President Harrison urged Mr. Depew to accept the place, but after a week's deliberation, he felt obliged to decline the honor.

He was delegate-at-large to the Presidential conventions of 1892 and 1896, and presented the names of Benjamin Harrison for President and of Governor Levi P. Morton for Vice-President, on both occasions. At the unveiling of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, he was the orator of the occasion, also at the opening of the great World's Fair at Chicago in 1892, he delivered an oration remarkable for its beauty and eloquence. On many other occasions has he also been the popular favorite elected to deliver addresses for a variety of occasions. He is now serving as Senator from the State of New York, his term expiring March 3, 1905.

Joseph Welden Bailey

Congressman and Democratic Leader of the South-West.

JOSEPH W. BAILEY is a native of Mississippi, and was born October 6, 1863. When twenty years of age he had completed his education, and been admitted to the practice of the profession of law. He early took an interest in politics and in the campaign of 1884 was an elector for Cleveland and Hendricks. In 1885 he located in Texas, and again served as Democratic elector in 1888. He was elected to the 52nd Congress, and has served in each succeeding Congress, being a member of the present House. At his last election he received 29,942 votes, and his Republican competitor 3,842. He was Democratic nominee for speaker of the House in the 55th Congress. He had been Democratic leader of the House, and is recognized as a man of marked ability, and well informed in all branches of the present day politics.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock

Diplomat and Secretary of the Interior.

ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK, Secretary of the Interior, is a great grandson of Ethan Allen, of Vermont, of revolutionary fame. He was born in Mobile, Alabama, September 19, 1835. After living one year at New Orleans, he removed to Nashville, Tennessee, where he was educated at private schools, completing his course of study in 1855 at the military academy in New Haven, Connecticut. His family were then living in St. Louis, Missouri, where he went to live after completing his education, and engaged in mercantile business. In 1860 he went to China as a representative of Oly-pant & Co., a commission house having a large trade. His worth was soon recognized, and in 1866 he became a member of the firm. In 1872 he was able to retire from business, and spent two or three years in travel and observation in Europe. He returned to the United States in 1874, and engaged in several business enterprises, including manufacturing, mining and railway adventures, in all of which he was a marked success, and was soon recognized as one of the foremost men in the commercial world of the West. He is a type of the best American citizen, in that he has taken a keen interest in great political questions and at same time been a marked success in the commercial world. He is not a politician by profession, and hence his counsels are valued by his party and his example one to be emulated by all good Americans.

President McKinley recognized his business ability and his fitness to represent the United States in Russia, where our trade was rapidly growing, appointed him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to that country. He discharged his duties with signal success, and was the first American Ambassador credited to the Russian port. Upon the resignation of Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, he was called home to take the portfolio of Department of Interior. He was confirmed on December 21, 1898, and has made a very popular Secretary.

William Pierce Frye

President of United States Senate.

WILLIAM PIERCE FRYE, Senator from Maine, and President of the United States Senate was born in Lewistown, Maine, September 2, 1831. He completed his education at Bowdoin College in 1850, and afterwards studied and practiced law. He was elected member of the State Legislature in 1861-62-67. He served as Mayor of his native city, Lewistown in 1866-67, and also as Attorney General of his state for three years. His Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. He has several times been presidential elector, and served as a delegate to the National Republican Convention. He was elected a representative in 42d, 43th, 44th, 45th, 46th and 47th, Congresses and United States Senate in 1881, when James G. Blaine resigned his service as Secretary of State.

He is now completing his third term in the Senate. That he is popular in his native state is proved by the fact that he received every vote except one in both branches of the legislation. On February 2, 1896, he was elected President *pro tem.* of the Senate, becoming its President upon the death of Vice-President Hobart in 1899. He served with distinction as a member of the commission which met at Paris, September 1898, to adjust terms of peace between the United States and Spain.

Mr. Frye's service in the House and Senate has been such as to necessitate a participation in many important subjects of legislation during the past three decades. In the House he was chairman of the Library Committee; served for several years on the Judiciary, and was a member of the Committee on Ways and Means. During two or three congresses he was chairman of the Executive Committee. It was generally conceded that he would have been elected Speaker of the House in the 47th Congress, without opposition on the Republican side, had he not resigned before the meeting of that Congress, on account of his election to the Senate.

In the House he took an active part in debates, especially on

political questions, having a keen relish for participation in those exciting impromptu debates which frequently occurred in times of intense party feeling. He took part also in the discussion of nearly all important national questions. In the Senate he has for many years been chairman of the Committee of Commerce, the largest and one of the most important of that body, and as such he has had especial charge of all matters relating to shipping, river and harbor improvements, and kindred subjects. He is also a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and by seniority was entitled to its chairmanship on the resignation of Senator Sherman, but chose to remain at the head of the Committee on Commerce.

He reserves his speeches for occasions when they are needed and then speaks forcibly and to the point. Looking over the debates of Congress for the last thirty years one cannot fail to note the fact that Senator Frye has done his part in moulding legislation. His persistent efforts through five Congresses in respect to the Geneva awards, securing at last the rights of the actual losers, is one of his important achievements. His efforts towards securing the abrogation of the fishery articles in the treaty with Great Britain ; his successful work in respect to Samoan affairs, securing an honorable settlement of existing complications ; his bill providing for a Congress of American Nations, and another for a Maritime Congress ; his Postal Subsidy bill, his Tonnage bill ; his important amendments to the Dingley shipping bill ; his championship of the Nicaragua Canal bill ; his speeches in defense of protective tariff measures ; his support of other measures of national importance indicate the breadth of his legislative equipment.

Outside of the halls of Congress his voice is often heard. At many notable public meetings and banquets he has delivered speeches on national topics which have been widely circulated by the press.

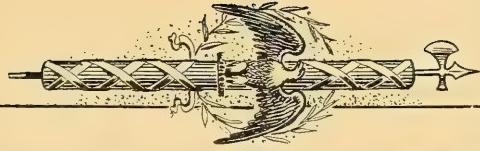
As a campaign orator he is considered one of the most effective and his services are much in demand. For the past forty years he has participated in every political campaign and spoken in nearly every state of the North.

Marcus A. Hanna

Senator from Ohio.

MARCUS ALONZO HANNA was born in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, September 24, 1837. Mr. Hanna inherited ability and was educated in business. Next to the efficacy of good brains and blood in making up a man comes environment—the circumstances surrounding the boy and man—the conditions upon which are opened in his neighborhood the golden gates of opportunity. Mr. Hanna had a high school education, and a year at the Western Reserve College, one of the multitude of Ohio colleges.

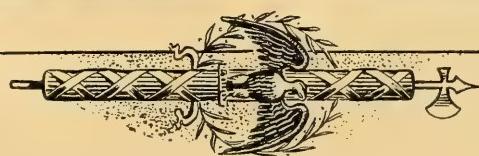
Mr. Hanna's father, on removing to Cleveland, became a wholesale grocer and provision merchant, and the son at 23 years of age was a clerk in the store, and in 1861 his father died and he succeeded to the business. Young Hanna traveled extensively and formed a valuable acquaintance. In 1864 he married Miss Augusta Rhodes, the daughter of his senior partner, D. P. Rhodes, who retired a few years later, when the existing firm of M. A. Hanna & Co. was organized. The business of the firm required a great deal of transportation on the lakes, and Hanna, after being interested in several vessels, became the proprietor of one named for his father, Leonard Hanna, and he is now a large owner of ships on the lakes and the head of the Globe Iron Works Co. of shipbuilders. He is active in his personal affairs and has them so organized that when he takes a turn in politics he has only to say "yes" and "no" a good deal touching matters not public, and they go as he says. The course of his business is plainly marked as a system of progression. First a grocer, then a shipowner—the ships growing out of and sailing in the requirements of trade; then, as he wanted ships, he became a shipbuilder, and as he consumed iron he developed ores. His handsome residence is famous for hospitality, and it is administered with a geniality and liberality that gain and give pleasure. He has a charming family—a son with a home and household of his own. He values too highly the blessing of health



REDFIELD PROCTOR.
SENATOR FROM VERMONT.



THOMAS G. PLATT.
SENATOR FROM NEW YORK.





J. D. RICHARDSON,
REPRESENTATIVE FROM TENNESSEE.



J. P. DOLLIVER,
REPRESENTATIVE FROM IOWA.

to neglect it and takes exercise regularly. Mr. Hanna is a man of large estate, but he has no idle hours or dollars. He is active in capital and labor, and an example that head and hands may work together with profit and show each other fair play. As there are several thousand men employed in the various enterprises in which he is influentially interested, he has not escaped incidents of differences of opinion between employers and employed that passed into a stage of warfare.

He holds the respect of workingmen because he treats them with respect, and he gains their good will because he is fair, and in nothing does he show them greater consideration than in never trying the blandishments of demagogues with them. He has no ability or inclination in that direction.

Mr. Hanna has been chairman of the Republican National Committee since the convention of 1896, and has won a reputation for great executive skill by his successful management of that campaign. It became his duty to call together the convention at Philadelphia and to introduce the temporary chairman. He was appointed to the United States Senate by Governor Bushnell, March 5, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by resignation of Hon. John Sherman. He was elected to the succeeding short and long terms, and his present term expires March 4, 1905.

Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss

MR. BLISS was born in Massachusetts sixty-eight years ago. When he was a mere boy he moved to New Orleans, but afterwards came North, living in Boston a short time. In 1866 he went to New York City where in course of time he became one of the most highly esteemed leaders of the great metropolis. Mr. Bliss is a man of marked intellectual breadth, culture of mind, taste and spirit. He was selected by President McKinley for his Secretary of the Interior, which portfolio he accepted. Life in Washington did not suit him, and his business interests in New York requiring his attention he resigned his portfolio in December, 1898, to be succeeded by Mr. E. A. Hitchcock.

Thomas Brackett Reed

The Great "Speaker" and Debater.

THOMAS BRACKETT REED was born in Portland, Maine, October 18, 1839. He attended the common schools of the city, and was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1860, being among the first in his class and taking the highest honors possible—the prize for excellence in English composition. He possesses rare gifts in this respect, his writings showing a clear, vigorous, but limpid style, which have brought him a national reputation, while his speeches are eloquent, sparkling, logical, and coruscating with humor, sarcasm, and wit. No man surpasses him in readiness of repartee. No more enjoyable treat could be imagined than that of a debate in the House, where he was beset with all sorts of questions from political opponents. His instant replies were inimitable, and the man that could unhorse him in debate did not appear on the floor of Congress during Mr. Reed's long service as member and speaker.

After his graduation, Mr. Reed taught in a Portland high school, studying law at the same time. He went to California in 1863, expecting to make his home in that state. He taught school there and began the practice of law, but at the end of the year, for family reasons, returned to Maine. In April, 1864, he was appointed acting assistant paymaster in the United States navy and assigned to duty on the gunboat *Sibyl*, which patrolled the Tennessee, Cumberland and Mississippi rivers until the close of the war. He was discharged from the service in August, 1865, and returned to Portland, where he was admitted to the bar.

His advance was rapid. He was interested from the first in politics, and his power and popularity were so marked that, without his knowledge, he was nominated by his party in 1868 for the State House of Representatives. His election followed as a matter of course, and his reputation as a brilliant lawyer going with him, he was placed on the Judiciary Committee. Maine was quick to see that she had secured the right man and re-elected him in 1869,

promoting him to the Senate in 1870, but he resigned the senatorship to assume the duties of Attorney-General, to which office he had been elected.

His name was well-known throughout the state, and it was in the natural order of events, that, in 1876, he was nominated for Congress and elected in the district composed of Cumberland and York counties.

Mr. Reed took his seat in Congress, October 15, 1877. He made his first speech April 12, 1878, and drew the attention of the House by his keen, convincing logic. His great ability was recognized by political opponents as well as friends. In 1889, when the Republicans had a bare majority, he was elected to the Speaker's chair, receiving 166 votes to 154 cast for John G. Carlisle.

There are few who are not acquainted with Speaker Reed's career as presiding officer of the House of Representatives. For a time indeed he was the central figure in the eyes of the country. On January 29, 1890, when the Democrats had sat mute while their names were being called by the clerk, Speaker Reed coolly counted sufficient numbers "present but not voting," to constitute a quorum.

The Speaker, notwithstanding the storm of opposition, resolutely held to his decision and the business of the session which had been blocked so long moved forward, though it cannot be said without friction.

Four years later, when a Democratic House was caught in precisely the same dilemma, it adopted precisely the same rule. Mr. Reed was chosen speaker again of Congress, in December, 1895, and again in March, 1897.

At the National Republican Convention, which met in St. Louis in 1896, Mr. Reed's name was prominently spoken of for President; but William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated, and the "Courtly Knight" from Maine supported him in some of the most able speeches delivered during the campaign.

Quite unexpectedly Mr. Reed resigned his seat in the 56th Congress and gave himself to the practice of law in New York, of which city he became a citizen.

Grover Cleveland

Successful Lawyer, Governor and President.

GROVER CLEVELAND, twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States, was born in the village of Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. He was the son of Richard Falley Cleveland, a Presbyterian minister, who was graduated at Yale in 1824, and five years later married Annie Neal, daughter of a Baltimore merchant.

When the son was four years old his father accepted a call to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, New York, where the boy attended the academy, and afterward served as clerk in a country store. Some time later the family removed to Clinton, in Oneida County, and Grover was a student at the academy there. At the age of sixteen he became a clerk and assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind, in New York city. In the same institution his elder brother, William, now a preacher, was also a teacher.

He took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1859. Meanwhile his father died, and, that he might be able to support his mother, Grover remained three years longer with the firm with whom he studied at a moderate salary.

His worth and ability had attracted favorable notice, and he was appointed assistant district attorney of Erie County, January 1, 1863, holding the office for three years. He was defeated in 1865, as the Democratic candidate for district attorney, and became a law partner of Isaac V. Vanderpool, uniting, in 1869, with the firm of Lanning & Folsom. By this time he had attained marked success, and in 1870 was elected sheriff of Erie County. At the end of his three years' term, he formed a law partnership with his intimate friend, Lyman K. Bass, who had defeated him for the district attorneyship, the firm being Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. Ill health compelled the retirement of Mr. Bass, when the firm became Cleveland & Bissell. It was very successful, and Mr. Cleveland's reputation increased.

In September, 1882, he was nominated for governor of the state. Governor Cleveland made no blunders that could mar his prospects. He was able, honest, and wholly devoted to the interests of the state. At the Democratic national convention, held in Chicago, in July, 1884, he received the nomination for President, which he formally accepted by letter on the 18th of August. Mr. Cleveland received 219 electoral votes to 182 for Blaine.

President Cleveland was inaugurated on the 4th of March following, and called around him an able cabinet. He favored a reduction of the tariff, with the ultimate establishment of freer trade.

In the autumn of 1888, Cleveland received 5,540,329 and Harrison 5,439,853, while of the electoral votes 168 went to Cleveland and 233 to Harrison.

In 1892, the same gentlemen were the leading candidates, and the verdict was reversed; Cleveland received 5,553,142 and Harrison 5,186,931 on the popular vote, while in the electoral college 276 votes went to Cleveland and 145 to Harrison. It was the first time in our history that a President was re-elected after being out of office for one term.

In President Cleveland's second term a monetary stringency and a great depression of business were accompanied by a formidable railway strike which necessitated the calling out of the United States troops in several parts of the country. President Cleveland "struck fire," in his message to Congress, on December 17, 1895, when he said that the United States could not view with indifference the dismemberment of a sister republic Venezuela, on the American continent, for it would be a flagrant violation of the Monroe doctrine enunciated in 1823, which declared in language not to be mistaken that no part of North or South America from that time forward should be open for colonization by any foreign power.

President Cleveland was declared to be an American in the highest sense of the word, and an exalted patriot who had sounded the bugle to which hundreds of thousands of loyal spirits would respond. Since the close of his term he has become a highly respected citizen of the University town, Princeton, N. J.

Marion Butler

Populist Senator from North Carolina.

Of the three National Committee Chairmen, Marion Butler, the Populist, is by far the most interesting. Both Mr. Hanna and Senator Jones are, to the country at large, new men. Mr. Butler was a country editor, sprung from the plain people and reared on a farm. At 33 this young man found himself in control of the party machinery of a political organization larger in numbers than that which elected Lincoln for the first time; an acknowledged party leader, and a United States Senator to boot. In his brief and quite dazzling career he has shown himself a shrewd manipulator and a dexterous tactician, with a genius for success and an unusual talent for taking advantage of other men's necessities.

It was in the campaign of 1896 that Butler, of North Carolina, came to the front. His standing in the Populist party was strong. He had made himself master of his own State; he was president of the National Farmers' Alliance; he had all the prestige that goes with success. When he went to the convention in St. Louis he had not committed himself. He had already learned the power that is often gathered from waiting until a decisive moment; he had won his leadership largely through his ability to gauge the feeling of the ranks and direct this feeling to his own end.

Made temporary chairman of the convention, in his speech he played skillfully upon the passions of the mass and the desires of the leaders. It was then that with the strength gained by his foresight in making himself, so to speak, the balance of power, he formulated his plan for the endorsement of Bryan and the nomination of a Southern Populist for second place. The chief leaders, Weaver Allen and others, fought his plan bitterly. But the Tarheel statesman carried the convention. And as a result, he was put in charge of the campaign.

This at 33 years of age.

Mr. Butler, himself, says that his political career was entirely an accident, that it was not the one he had picked out for himself, and that it was due almost directly to the death of his father when the young man was attending college. He was born and brought up on a farm, and received the larger share of his early education from his mother. From her, with the occasional aid from a neighboring academy—the free schools of North Carolina are a comparatively recent innovation—he received his preparation from the University of North Carolina. Graduated from the Academic department of that institution, he entered its law school and was on his way to his chosen profession when he was called home by his father's demise to undertake the care of the farm and dependent family.

A supporter of Mr. Cleveland in 1888, the latter's renomination in Chicago in 1892 drove Butler out of the Democratic party, and the Populist campaign of that year in this state found him prominently at the fore. Though Cleveland carried the state, the Populists cast 44,000 votes, and a fusion with the Republicans would have been successful. But all overtures for a union that year were defeated by the obstinacy of the chairman of the Republican committee, who headed a faction of office-seeking Republicans who had descended from the carpet-bag era.

Personally he is a tall, broad-shouldered, rather angular man, who swings down the street with that long stride that seems typical of his political career. He is a strider all over. He has a rather heavy head of hair, and a full beard, which keeps you guessing as to whether his face is a strong one. As he talks, his deep-set eyes shut narrowly as though they were looking out of the smallest possible space.

Butler has shown in his speeches unquestioned industry, and a considerable reading in the lore of the patriot fathers. The latter has often stood him in good stead. In the finished sense of the word he is not an orator, and his place in the progress of his party will be more of a manager. For this working he has shown, judged by his success under many trying situations, really consummate ability.

Stephen B. Elkins

Republican Senator From West Virginia.

SENATOR ELKINS started life a poor boy, without influence and without friends to help him. He was born and brought up on a farm. Whatever he has in the way of means or capital he has acquired by his own efforts. He is a large employer of wage-earners, and enjoys their sympathy and confidence. He has for more than a quarter of a century taken an active interest in national politics; but during all this time he has been a hard-working business man, and known as such rather than a politician. During his service as a member of Congress and a Cabinet officer, and in all his business transactions, which have extended from one ocean to the other, there has never been a reflection on his fairness or integrity. His standing and credit as a business man is good, not only where he has lived, but all over the country. In all the walks of life he has made himself popular with all who have known him. He is unostentatious, plain and simple in his manners, and is easily approached by all classes of his fellow citizens.

A brief sketch of his life will show how his great experience, his wide acquaintance with men, and knowledge of the country has been acquired. He was born in Ohio, reared and educated in Missouri, lived ten years in the Rocky Mountains, and is familiar with the Pacific Coast. He lived eight years in Washington City, twelve years in New York City during the winters, spending the summers in his adopted State of West Virginia, where he now resides in the town bearing his name. Having lived in the East and in the West, he knows both sections and their people as no other man in public life. Mr. Blaine once said that Mr. Elkins knew more men and had a wider acquaintance than any other man in the country. He served as member of Legislature, Attorney-General and United States Attorney for New Mexico. He has been a member of Congress, served in Cabinet and is now Senator of the United States

William B. Allison

Iowa's Favorite Statesman.

William B. Allison, Senator from Iowa, is a native of Ohio, the commonwealth which of late years has furnished so many statesmen to the Union.

Mr. Allison was born in 1829, and was graduated from the Western Reserve College. His first entrance into public politics, as he states, was in 1860, when he was appointed one of the tally secretaries at the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency.

Although Mr. Allison was deeply interested in politics from the first, and always inclined to the principles of the Republican party, he felt no special ambition to become a politician. Nevertheless, his neighbors appreciated his ability, and he was nominated for Congress in 1862 and elected. Mr. Allison remained in Congress until 1871, and two years later was elected to the Senate, where he has remained ever since.

President Garfield was so impressed by Allison's attainments and complete mastery of financial questions, that, in the face of the strongest pressure from other quarters, he urged him to accept the portfolio of the Treasury, but this he declined on account of illness of his wife.

Mr. Allison is a handsome man, genial and fond of a good story, and he can tell one and join in the ringing laughter which greets a witticism. He is fond of books, art and travel, and is almost as familiar with the politics of Europe as with those of his own country. He is dignified and kindly without a trace of egotism or vanity. Senator Gear of Iowa said of him: "There is nothing of a coward about Allison. He is cautious, but not cowardly. He has a stiff backbone in him, and when the occasion demands, he always shows that he has convictions and the courage to support them. He has been in public life for a generation, and although he is nearly seventy years of age, he looks and really is ten years younger, and in the prime of physical condition.

Hon. Jonathan P. Dolliver

Congressman from Iowa.

AN ELOQUENT SPEAKER, AN ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTER OF REPUBLICAN POLICY, AND A FAVORITE WITH MANY FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY NOMINATION OF 1900.

The subject of this sketch was born in Preston County, Virginia, February 26, 1858. He was educated in the common schools of his native state, and afterwards graduated from the Western Virginia University in 1875. He made the law his profession, being admitted in 1878 to practice at the bar. His father was a minister in the Methodist Church, being one of the old-time circuit riders. He was an eloquent man and a great speaker and exhorter. From him Mr. Dolliver, no doubt, inherited his oratorical powers. He shows by the full, mellow, round voice his Virginia ancestry and raising. A story is told to illustrate his oratorical powers, that the girls have nick-named him "Rolled Oats" because of his habit of rolling his r's when he gave his orders to the waiters at a hotel at a certain summer resort.

Mr. Dolliver confined himself to the practice of his profession and had no ambition for office until he was placed in nomination and elected to the Fifty-first Congress, although he had for some time before made a reputation as a campaign speaker. James G. Blaine, in one of his tours in the West, met Mr. Dolliver and was so pleased with him that he prophesied that he would have a brilliant public career. Mr. Dolliver soon made himself known after taking his seat in Congress, and came under Speaker Reed's notice and was complimented for his thoughtful and eloquent speeches. After being in Congress for three terms he was made a member of the Ways and Means Committee, by Speaker Reed, in the Fifty-fourth Congress. It was Mr. Dolliver who, in the campaign of 1896, dubbed Mr. McKinley "the advanced agent of prosperity." This became one of the watch-words of the canvass and brought Mr. Dolliver into much prominence.

Mr. Dolliver is a large, heavily-built man, of healthy and genial

appearance, dark hair, dark eyes, and ruddy face. He is a good story-teller and all-round good fellow. He is a lover of books and prepares his speeches with great care. Recently he has been honored with the degree of LL. D. by Bethany College in the State of Kansas.

David Bennett Hill

United States Senator from New York

DAVID BENNETT HILL, the youngest of five children, was born in 1843, in the town of Havana, Schuyler County, New York.

His father died while he was a lad, and his mother eked out a living as best she could from the heavily mortgaged farm. David contributed all the help he could, selling papers and candies on the New York Central Railway before he had entered his teens. Having passed through the High School, he now entered a law office in Elmira and began the study of law. He was a hard student, and did two years' work in one, being admitted to the bar when he had barely reached the age of twenty-one. Two months later he was appointed city attorney, and was thus fairly launched upon the sea of politics, where he has made a brilliant reputation. He was selected as a delegate to the Democratic state convention in 1868. Two years later he was elected to the Legislature.

In 1882 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket which placed Grover Cleveland in the gubernatorial chair. In 1885 he was chosen Governor by a large majority, being re-elected and holding the office until 1891. In the latter year he was chosen United States Senator, for the term expiring in 1897. The Republicans gaining the supremacy in the state, he did not gain another term. In the campaign of 1896 he opposed the free silver platform of his party, by which he lost a great deal influence. He represented his party in the Kansas City convention, and again is in harmony.

George Dewey

The Hero of the Battle of Manila.

GEORGE DEWEY was born in Montpelier, Vermont, on December 26, 1837. His father was Dr. Julius Y. Dewey, a prominent life insurance authority, an estimable business man, and also a physician. The Dewey family belongs to New England's best stock, and dates its ancestry back to colonial times. After a preparatory course in the Northfield Military School of Massachusetts, George Dewey was appointed, at the age of seventeen, as a cadet to Annapolis, where he graduated in 1858. When the Civil War broke out, young Dewey was made a lieutenant and assigned to duty on the seventeenth-gun steam-sloop *Mississippi*. His ship was in Farragut's squadron, which forced a passage up the Mississippi River in 1862. This was Dewey's first experience in real war.

Dewey was also on one of the gunboats at the engagement at Donaldsonville in 1863. In 1864 and 1865 he was an officer on the *Agawam*, which was engaged in battle at Fort Fisher. In March, 1865, he received his commission as Lieutenant-Commander. He was made Commodore in 1896, and was placed at the head of the Inspection Board. In January, 1898, he was given command of the Asiatic squadron, stationed then at Hong Kong, China. He had been but a few weeks in his new position when the declaration of war with Spain gave him the chance of his life for distinction, which he so brilliantly improved by falling upon and annihilating the Spanish fleet and forts at Manila, Philippine Islands, May 1st, just six days after the declaration of war. This story is told in another chapter.

The battle of Manila must ever remain a monument to the daring and courage of Admiral Dewey. However unevenly matched the two fleets may have been, we must agree with the naval critic who declared: "This complete victory was the product of forethought, cool, well-balanced judgment, discipline, and bravery." Dewey entered with his squadron an unknown harbor, supposed to be strewn with deadly mines, and blew up the Spanish

navy that was protected by the heavy guns of the shore batteries; and not only did he sink the vessels, but he silenced those batteries. It was magnificent; and Dewey will go down in history, ranking with Paul Jones and Lord Nelson as a naval hero.

Congress has again created the rank of Admiral of the navy to which he was nominated by the President and promptly confirmed by the United States Senate.

William C. Whitney

President Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy

WILLIAM C. WHITNEY was born in Conway, Mass., July 15, 1841. He was graduated with honors from Yale University in 1863, and afterwards took up the study of law, completing the Harvard law course in 1865. He removed to New York and was admitted to the bar, beginning the practice of his profession in the city of New York. He early became connected with the Young Men's Democratic Club, and was prominently identified in its campaigns. When the famous fight took place against the Tweed ring he came prominently forward as one of the active participants. He became connected with the education of the city, becoming inspector of public schools in 1872. He took an active part in the campaign of 1876, favoring the election of Samuel J. Tilden. He has always been identified with every movement which looks forward to the betterment of politics, never being identified with any of the famous rings. Grover Cleveland, upon his election to the Presidency invited Mr. Whitney to become his Secretary of the Navy. His administration was marked for businesslike methods and important improvements in the naval regulations and the high efficiency of the Navy. He has held no office since, but has been frequently mentioned for many places of honor and trust in his party. Like his chief, he has always favored a sound money policy and been unwilling to accept the programme of the silver wing of his party.

Hon. John D. Long

Secretary of the Navy

JOHN D. LONG, the able Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley, is a native of Maine, and was born in the year 1838. He was educated at Harvard University, graduating at 19 years of age with honors, and as a class poet. He was elected master of one of the excellent Massachusetts academies for two years, and then spent two years in the Harvard Law School, being admitted to the bar in 1861. He began practicing in Maine, but changed his plans in 1862, and returned to Boston, there to make his professional career.

Having rare gifts as a platform speaker, he took his part in political campaigns ; but it was not until 1874, at the age of thirty-six, that he entered official life. He was elected to the State Legislature and immediately attained influence and popularity. The next year he was re-elected and made Speaker of the House,—an experience which was repeated for three successive years, when he was universally looked upon as the most promising young Republican leader in the state, and was elected Lieutenant-Governor. In the three years that followed he was elected to three successive annual terms as Governor of the State of Massachusetts. In one of these elections his opponent was no less dangerous an adversary than the late General Benjamin F. Butler. He declined further service in the Governorship, and accepted an election to Congress, where he remained for three terms. He then became a candidate for the United States Senate ; but Senator Dawes secured re-election for his final term, to be succeeded later by Mr. Lodge. Mr. Long retired to the practice of his profession, and for eight or ten years did not hold public office. His very exceptional ability is recognized by all who have followed his career. His scholarly tastes and associations have never been forsaken, and he stands pre-eminently in Mr. McKinley's administration as the representative of American scholarship. He claimed no especial

fitness for the Navy portfolio, but has demonstrated his ability to master his task rapidly and to utilize intelligently the services of a permanent organization that is full of technical experts.

Mr. Long most worthily represents the character, capacity, intelligence, culture and high ideals that belong to New England in her best estate. He has the energy and strength that characterize the sons of Maine, and he has the mental and ethical culture that belongs to the best type of Harvard's graduates. He has paved the way for the later "Harvard men in politics" who have served their state so creditably and have set so good an example to college-bred men the whole country over.

John T. Morgan

Democratic Statesman from Alabama

Probably the most distinguished member of the Democratic side in the United States Senate, and one who has fought most fearlessly for the principles of the Democratic party, and at the same time gained the sincere respect and admiration of the men of all parties, is John T. Morgan, who represents the State of Alabama in the United States Senate. He was born at Athens, Tennessee, June 20, 1824, but at 9 years of age his parents removed to Alabama, where he received an academic education and has since resided. Being admitted to the bar in 1845, he gained the foremost rank in the practice of his profession. With his state, he seceded from the Union and served in the Confederate army, and arose to the rank of Brigadier-General. In 1876 he was chosen a Presidential elector and voted for Tilden and Hendricks. He entered the United States Senate in 1877, having served continuously since that date. He has served on the most important committees of the Senate, and on several commissions, among which was the commission for drafting the tariff laws for the Hawaiian Islands. He has been an advocate of the building of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama, but insists that it shall be truly and only American and under the American auspices.

Shelby Moore Cullom

Senator from Illinois

SHELBY MOORE CULLOM, son of Richard Northcraft Cullom and Elizabeth Coffey Cullom, was born in Monticello, Wayne county, Ky., November 22, 1829. His father, who was a farmer, removed to Tazewell county, Ill., the following year; he was a prominent and influential Whig in his time, and frequently represented his district in both Houses of the General Assembly. Young Cullom early in life adopted law as his profession and fitted himself at a country academy. In 1855 he began the practice of law at Springfield, Ill.

CULLOM'S GREAT PUBLIC CAREER

In Illinois Senator Cullom has steadily risen from the humble position of a farmer's boy, who at the plow earned his own education to that of a member and Speaker of the lower House of the State Legislature, member of Congress thrice elected, again elected to the Legislature, and again elected Speaker, elected Governor and re-elected to that office—and three times elected United States Senator from his state; he now holds a conspicuous position as one of the foremost men in America.

Advancing steadily without serious protest from any source, he has stood and now stands before the people a poor man in worldly goods, but rich in the confidence and good opinions of his fellow-citizens. Transferred from one high position to another through a life-time of strenuous public labor and acceptable service, maintaining all his friendships, his high unsullied character, his ideals his purity of devotion to the public good, and coping all the while with the vicissitudes of shifting politics, he certainly has possessed and displayed a high order of judgment, temperament, humanity, force and power of leadership, which, combined with wide and profound knowledge pertaining to the history, wants and interests of the country, place him in the first order of statesmen. That statesmanship is exemplified by the things he has done.

Henry Moore Teller

Senator from Colorado—Champion of Free Silver Coinage.

HENRY MOORE TELLER is of Dutch descent and was born at Granger, Allegheny County, N. Y., May 23, 1830. He received a good academic education, and while in attendance at the academy taught school at intervals in order to help to pay the expenses of his education.

Having completed his course at the academy, he took up the study of law under the instruction of Judge Martin Grover, and was admitted to the bar January 5, 1858, at Binghampton in his native state. Like many other young men Mr. Teller formed the idea that the West offered a wider field for success. In April, 1861, he emigrated to Colorado, which is still his home. In that territory he found a congenial field for his ability and energy, not only in law, but in business enterprises.

Although originally a Democrat, Mr. Teller joined the Republican party in 1855, when it was in its infancy. He became a power in politics, commanding the respect and confidence of all classes. He never sought office, and did not seem to care for political honors, but in 1876, upon the admission of Colorado as a state, he was elected one of the first United States Senators. He was re-elected, and served until April, 1882, when he was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Arthur, serving until March 3, 1885, when he was again elected to the United States Senate to succeed Nathaniel P. Hill, Republican. His present term expires March 3, 1901.

As a representative of the sentiments of Colorado, Senator Teller, it need hardly be said, is a pronounced "silver man," as he has proved times without number in warm debates and struggles which have taken place during the last few years in Washington. His ability, forceful logic, and commanding courage have given him a national reputation and a popularity which places him at the head of the champions of his financial ideas, and scarcely a great rival in the great West.

In the convention held at St. Louis, in 1896, Senator Teller was on the Committee on Resolutions and presented a minority report in favor of free and unlimited coinage of silver with ratio of 16 to 1. In a speech of deep emotion he declared the time had come when if the gold standard was adopted, he should be compelled to leave the party with which he had been associated for thirty-five years. Upon the overwhelming defeat of his report he, with many other silver men, withdrew from the convention, and they were known as Silver Republicans.

Ignatius Donnelly

Candidate for Vice-President on Cincinnati Platform
Author, Politician and Congressman

IGNATIUS DONNELLY has been well known for a number of years in the United States, both as a contributor to current literature on social and political problems, and an author of considerable note. He was born in Philadelphia, November 3, 1831, and in 1857 went to Minnesota, where he made his home and became interested in the politics of the state. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1859, and served in Congress for six years—1863 to 1869, being at that time elected as a Republican. Upon the issues of the tariff and money question, he underwent a decided change of view, and early became connected with the Populist Party in the West, and advocated their most radical doctrines. He has several times been prominently mentioned as a candidate for the Presidency and was the strongest candidate of the convention, which met at Cincinnati, May, 1900. He was there nominated to the second place, with Wharton Barker as a candidate for the Presidency.

Among his literary works he wrote "Atlantis," "Antediluvian World" and "Ragnarok." The best known of his works is the "Great Cryptogram," which was prepared in 1888, in which he tried to prove that Francis Bacon was the author of the plays commonly attributed to William Shakespeare.

Wharton Barker

Populist Candidate for President—A Man of Distinguished Ancestry and an Authority on Economic and Transportation Questions

WHARTON BARKER was born in Philadelphia, May 1, 1846. His Barker Ancestors came from England to Massachusetts in 1638, and settled near Boston. His Wharton ancestors came over about the same time, and settled in Philadelphia. The Barker, Folger, Hazard, Rodman, Wharton, Fisher, and Redwood families—Puritan and Quaker—were connected by marriage before the great struggle of the American revolution. Wharton Barker and Benjamin Franklin were cousins, mothers of both were Folgers. Jacob Barker was born in 1779 and died in 1872. He was a hard worker and influential man during a long and eventful life; an admirer and follower of Jackson and the intimate friend of Madison and Jackson and ardent supporter of Madison in the British war in 1812, taking in 1814 the major part of the ten million loan. He was the first to nominate Jackson for the Presidency, and gave him aggressive support in his war upon the United States Bank.

Wharton Barker was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving degrees of A. B. in 1866 and A. M. in 1869. He is now an active member of the board of trustees of that institution, member of the American Philosophical Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He has been active in letters, in business and in politics for more than twenty-five years. He was the proprietor and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Monthly* from 1870 to 1880 and the *American* from 1880 to 1890, and since 1895 its editor and publisher. He has traveled much in England, China and Japan and in all these countries had almost intimate relation with prominent men. In 1876 he was charged by the Russian government with building cruisers in America at Cramps. In 1879 and 1880 he directed a survey of the Donetz coal and iron field of

Southern Russia and made a comprehensive plan of railroad building for the development of that country. In 1879 the Emperor Alexander II, in consideration of this work conferred upon him the order of St. Stanislaus, a distinction seldom given a foreigner. His Russian associations are still intimate. In 1887 he was called to Washington by the Chinese minister to the United States acting under instruction of Li Hung Chang and consulted about railroad building in China, mines, railroad and factory. He sent engineers and agents to China that year, and the Chinese government sent special envoys to America to confer further with him. Upon proclamation of peace between China and Japan, in 1895 Mr. Barker was called to Peking by high Chinese officials.

In 1890 Barker Brothers & Co., of which firm Wharton Barker was junior partner, met disaster through assaults of the money cliques, who disapproved his views upon finance and transportation.

Since 1876 Wharton Barker has taken an active part in politics. In 1880 he organized and led the campaign that resulted in the nomination of Garfield for president. He worked for the nomination of Harrison in 1884, but supported Blaine when nomination of Harrison was impossible. He was successful in 1888 in his effort to nominate Harrison for President. When Harrison allied himself with the railroad and bank cliques, Wharton Barker concluded there was no hope for re-establishment of equity of opportunity through the Republican party. He gave reluctant though earnest support to Bryan in 1896, and joined the People's Party soon after. Whether supporting Republican, Democratic or People's Party, he has always fought for the plain people, a pure democracy and a government by the people. He is now accepted as high authority on all economic and transportation questions. He urges trade expansion on natural lines, and opposes territorial expansion in the Orient. He was the first advocate of free trade among American countries—an American Zollverein—knowing that natural trade runs along the degrees of longitude; not along degrees of latitude.

David B. Henderson

Speaker of the House of Representatives, Fifty-sixth Congress.

DAVID BREMNER HENDERSON was born at Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, March 14, 1840; son of Thomas and Barbara Bremner Henderson, grandson of Walter Henderson on father's side. He was taken to America by his parents, who located on a farm in Winnebago County, Illinois, in 1846. In 1849 they moved to Fayette County, Iowa, where the son was educated, attending the district schools and Upper Iowa University. He enlisted in the Union Army, September 15, 1861, and was mustered into service November 5th, as First Lieutenant of Company C, 12th Iowa Infantry. He participated in the battles of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Shiloh and Corinth, being severely wounded at Fort Donelson, and losing a leg at Corinth, October 4, 1862. He re-entered the army June 10, 1864, as Colonel of the 46th Iowa Infantry and served until the close of the war, when he was appointed a collector of internal revenue. He was admitted to the bar in 1865, and practiced in Dubuque, Iowa. He was afterward an assistant United States district attorney, and in 1882 he was elected as a Republican Representative in the 48th Congress. He was re-elected to the 49th, 50th, 51st, 52d, 53d, 54th, 55th and 56th Congresses, serving as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and as a member of the Committees on Rules and Appropriations. It is through this committee that the Speaker exercises a large part of his great authority in the handling of the business of Congress; and Mr. Henderson's position has made him as familiar as any other man with the methods of Speaker Reed. For the first time in the history of the country the Speakership has been conferred upon a representative of a state west of the Mississippi River. Mr. Henderson has great personal popularity in his district, where many Democrats are accustomed to vote for him, although his Republicanism is of the most aggressive type. He is also a favorite among his colleagues in Congress regardless of party.

Charles Emory Smith Journalist, Politician and Cabinet Officer

CHARLES EMORY SMITH, one of the best known journalists of to day, a public orator of great reputation, was born in Connecticut in 1842. His family removed to New York while he was a child, and he received his preparatory education at Albany Academy and Union College. During the Civil War he served in several military capacities, and at its close took up journalism. In 1880 he removed to Philadelphia, and became editor of the *Philadelphia Press*. President Harrison appointed him as our Minister to Russia in 1889, where he served for two years. During the Russian famine in 1891 and 1892, while he was in St. Petersburg, he had charge for distribution of the American contributions of over \$100,000 in money and five ship loads of food. President McKinley nominated him for Postmaster-General in 1898, and he was promptly confirmed by the Senate. He was prominently named before the convention met in Philadelphia as a possible candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

James Daniel Richardson Democratic Leader and Congressman From Tennessee.

JAMES D. RICHARDSON, one of the most distinguished representatives from the South, and a leader of his party in the House, has served in Congress continuously in eight successive Congresses, beginning with the 49th. He was born in Rutherford County, Tennessee, March 10, 1843, and acquired his education at a public school, and at Franklin College in his own state. Although but 18 years of age, at the beginning of the Civil War, he entered the Confederate services, and was in the army nearly four years. After the war he served in his state Legislature, and was elected Speaker of the House in 1871, although he was then only 28 years of age. He was delegate to the St. Louis Democratic Convention in 1876, and also to the Chicago Convention in 1896.

Fitzhugh Lee

Virginia's Favorite Son

MAJOR-GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE is not, as has been sometimes supposed, the son of the famous Commander-in-Chief, General Robert E. Lee.

He was born on November 19, 1835, at Clermont, Fairfax County, Virginia. He is a nephew of General Robert E. Lee, and a grandson of the famous "Light-Horse Harry Lee" (Robert E.'s father) of Revolutionary fame. His well-deserved popularity is not merely incidental to his late office as Consul-General to Cuba, and as one of the commanding generals in the Spanish-American War, but is built upon a splendid career as a man, a soldier, and a patriot.

Fitzhugh Lee entered West Point Military Academy in 1852 and graduated in 1856, as he humorously says, "third in my class if you commence to count from the bottom." During the Civil War he participated in all of the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia.

After the war Fitzhugh Lee, like other Southern men of note, returned to his ordinary vocation, and lived in a quiet, retired way during the days of reconstruction.

In 1885 General Lee was elected Governor of Virginia, in which capacity he served his state for four years, with marked credit to himself and satisfaction to his constituents.

After the expiration of his term as Governor, General Lee returned to private life until he was appointed Consul-General to Cuba by President Cleveland in 1897. In this capacity his services were so satisfactory and valuable that, though he tendered his resignation to the new administration in 1897, President McKinley requested him to retain his position, which he did until the breaking out of hostilities between this country and Spain in 1898.

When hostilities were declared he returned to the United States and was appointed Major-General in the army of invasion, and placed in command of the Seventh Army Corps, comprising

five regiments of troops at Tampa and the troops at Jacksonville, numbering at the beginning of June, 1898, about 10,000 men.

He served with distinction through the war and continued in service of the army in Cuba.

General Lee is a typical American, chivalrous, patriotic, magnanimous, and as great in forbearance as he is valorous in defense of the principles of justice and humanity.

Nelson Appleton Miles

Commander of the United States Army

"If young Miles lives he will be one of the most distinguished officers in the service," said Major-General Hancock when the subject of this sketch was little more than a boy. That General Hancock was a true prophet, or a good guesser, the after-life of his young friend fully proved.

Major-General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the United States Army, was born in Westminster, Mass., August 8, 1839. Hence he was nearly 61 years of age, when in June, 1900, he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the armies of the United States.

Curiously enough, General Miles is the only soldier in the last half-century who has reached the position of chief in command of the American Army without having graduated at West Point. His success must be attributed to the fact that he is a born soldier—brave and wise—and that he is a man of the most extraordinary strength of character, combined with irresistibly winning personal characteristics.

During his career in the Civil War, General Miles was engaged in all the battles of the Army of the Potomac except one—and this his wounds at the time rendered him incapable of participating in. He commanded successively regiments, brigades, and divisions, and in 1865 was put in command of the Second Army Corps, numbering over 25,000 men, said to be the largest command ever held in America by an officer only 25 years of age.

General Miles was particularly prominent in the closing scenes of the war. His immediate command was the First Division of the Second Army Corps, which was in such close proximity to the Confederate forces that all the correspondence between Generals Grant and Lee regarding the terms of surrender passed directly through General Miles' command, and it was to his line that General Lee first came when he surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia, April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House.

Since the war General Miles has been perhaps the most prominent active soldier in the service of the government. When the army was first reorganized he was appointed Colonel of Infantry. In 1880 he was made Brigadier-General, and in 1890 Major-General of the United States Army, and has since succeeded General O. Howard as chief-in-command of the land forces. During the past twenty-five years he has figured prominently in our frontier troubles, and successfully conducted an Indian campaign against the Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes in the Indian Territory and the Southwest; the Sioux, Cheyennes, Perces, and others in the Northwest; and the Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico. For his efficient services he received the public thanks of the States of Montana, Kansas, Arizona, and New Mexico, where he not only quelled outbreaks of the savages, but on several occasions prevented Indian wars by the judicious and humane settlement of difficulties without the use of military power.

After General Miles' active life in the West, and prior to the opening of the Spanish-American War, he devoted a considerable portion of his time to literary work. His articles on various phases of military science, tactics, history, and achievements have contributed very materially to that branch of American literature, and added to his high distinction as a commander the honors of authoritative authorship along the lines of his professional calling.

This brilliant record General Miles maintained during the war with Spain, and that he should be honored with the rank of Lieutenant-General is approved by all.

Joseph Wheeler

The Hero of Two Wars

THE first ex-Confederate officer to receive a commission in the United States Army was General Joseph Wheeler of Alabama. On May 6, 1898, he and General Fitzhugh Lee tendered their services to President McKinley in the war against Spain, and he recommended them as Major-Generals.

The true story of the life of General Wheeler reads like a romance. For undaunted courage, military genius, thrilling experiences, and hair-breadth escapes, the record of no officer, North or South, perhaps, can surpass that of Joseph Wheeler of Alabama.

"Fighting Joe," as he is popularly called, descends from a military family. When the Civil War broke out Joseph Wheeler was a young man of twenty-four, a graduate of West Point, and a second lieutenant in the regular army. Like the majority of Southerners, he resigned his commission to serve the Confederacy, and he was promptly appointed colonel of an Alabama regiment, and served throughout the war with distinction and honor to himself and the South.

Wheeler was always more or less delicate in health, and, when this is considered, the courage and endurance which he manifested become the more remarkable. When he was carried to the front while racked with fever at San Juan, July, 1898, he was but repeating the fortitude manifested in his younger days.

Throughout the Civil War General Wheeler enjoyed the confidence and esteem not only of his commanders, but of the soldiers who fought under him, and of the whole South. Everyone relied upon his excellent judgment, not only in directing a cavalry fight, but in everything relating to campaign and army movements.

At the close of the war with Spain, among the returning heroes perhaps no one, with the exception of Dewey, Schley, and Hobson, received a more enthusiastic welcome than the old Confederate, Wheeler. The ovations he received at the Peace Jubilees of Chicago and Philadelphia, and on his subsequent tour of the

South with President McKinley, attested the popular esteem in which he was held by the whole country.

General Wheeler left his position as Congressman from Alabama, during his seventh term, to take part in the Spanish-American War. He was reinstated in the old place on his return, and in the fall of 1898 was triumphantly re-elected for another term.

In 1899 he was sent, at his request, for service in the Philippine Islands, where he served with signal ability for several months. Upon his return the President made him a Brigadier in the regular army.

William Bourke Cockran Orator, Statesman and Democratic Leader.

WILLIAM BOURKE COCKRAN is one of the large number of American statesmen of foreign birth who have come to this country, and by energy and perseverance have risen to be among the foremost men of their time. He was born in Ireland February 28, 1854, coming to the United States when 17 years of age. He completed his education and taught school for five years in New York State, and at the same time studied law. He was admitted to the practice of his profession in 1876. His ability as a lawyer and speaker gained for him great prominence, and he was selected as a member of the New York Commission for revising the State Constitution. He became connected with Tammany Hall, and soon his prominence made him leader, and secured for him election as a member of the House of Representatives from New York in the 50th, 52nd and 53rd Congresses. In the campaign of 1896 he sided with the gold wing of his party, and made many eloquent and forcible speeches in favor of sound money and against free silver. He has recently made several public addresses on the questions of the day, among them an address on the subject of trusts, their control and regulation, which is given in an abridged form in another chapter, as the leading question in the campaign of 1900.

Thomas Collier Platt

Republican Leader and United States Senator From New York.

THOMAS C. PLATT, a native of New York State, was born July 15, 1853, and although he had been a student for a short time and not a graduate of Yale University, he has received his honorary degree of M. A. He early became one of the leaders in financial circles of New York. In 1872 he served in the 33rd and 34th Congresses, and was elected United States Senator in January 1881, but resigned with his colleague Senator Conkling in May of the same year, in consequence of troubles with President Garfield, regarding the Federal appointments in the state. Having retired to private life, he devoted his time to his duties as President of the United States Express Company, and to his large business interests. In 1896 he was again elected United States Senator, and has taken a leading part in the politics of his party.

Arthur P. Gorman

The Popular Democratic Leader of Maryland.

ARTHUR P. GORMAN was born in Howard County, Md., March 11, 1839. He was educated in the public schools of his native county, but never had the advantage of a college training. In 1852 he was appointed page in the Senate of the United States, being one of those active, manly little fellows who carry the commands of the worthy senators. He was popular with everyone, and continued in the service of the Senate until 1866, in various positions, when he was appointed postmaster. He afterwards became collector of internal revenue for the District of Maryland. In January, 1880, he was elected by the Democrats to represent the state in the United States Senate, taking his seat March 4, 1881, being re-elected until March 3, 1899, when he was succeeded by L. E. McComas, the state having gone Republican. He has been active in politics, and is easily one of the foremost men in the Democratic party.

Joseph B. Foraker

Republican United States Senator From Ohio.

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER, the distinguished Senator from Ohio, was born in Rainsboro, Ohio, 1846. At the early age of sixteen he entered the army and served to the end of the Civil War. Afterwards he studied at the Ohio Wesleyan University, and also at Cornell, getting his B. A. degree in 1869. He took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar of Ohio at Cincinnati. He rapidly rose in the practice of his profession, and was elected Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in 1879. He has always taken an active part in politics, being a staunch Republican, and in 1886 was elected Governor of his native state. January 15, 1896, he was elected United States Senator to succeed Calvin S. Brice. He has been a staunch supporter of President McKinley and his administration, and stands high in the Republican councils, being one of the leaders in the United States Senate.

John Warwick Daniel

Democratic Senator From Virginia.

HONORABLE JOHN W. DANIEL was born September 5, 1842, at Litchburg, Va. He was educated in his native state, completing a classical education and course in law at the University of Virginia. He served with distinction in the Confederate services, being in the famous Stonewall Brigade. He arose to the ranks of Major and Adjutant-General. He served several terms in the Legislature of Virginia, and was at one time candidate for Governor of State, but was defeated. After serving a short time in the House of Representatives in the 49th Congress, he was elected to succeed William Mahone in the United States Senate in 1887, where he has served with distinction and made himself respected as one of the great leaders of his party, having the confidence and respect of his fellow senators.

Matthew Stanley Quay

Ex-Senator and Republican Leader from Pennsylvania.

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY is a native of Pennsylvania, being born in York County in 1833. He was educated at Jefferson College, getting his degree in 1850. He chose law for his profession, and was admitted to practice in 1854, at Beaver. He has held various offices of trust and honor in his native state, and combines in his character all the elements of political leadership with those of broad and liberal statesmanship. His term of office expired March 3, 1900. He still holds an influential position in the councils of the Republican Party. His ability as a man and leader grows upon men as they know him better. He is what is known among men as big-hearted, devoted to his friends, indulgent to his enemies. There is always a hidden reserve, knowledge and power that is apparent but undisclosed. He has more friends among Democrats than any Republican in the state. He lives a quiet domestic life, respected and honored by devoted wife and children.

Cushman K. Davis

Republican Senator from Minnesota.

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS is a native of New York State, being born in 1839, but while a mere infant, his family removed to the Territory of Wisconsin, where he was reared on a farm. He received a liberal education in the public schools of his state, and at Michigan University. Choosing law for his profession, he was admitted to the bar in Wisconsin at the breaking up of the Civil War. After an honorable service in the war he removed to Minnesota, and served in the State Legislature. Afterwards he became Governor of the state, then honored with an election to represent Minnesota in the United States Senate, where he has served with distinction. The courage of Senator Davis, built upon the habitual frankness and rectitude, may be termed his leading characteristic. His voice

is heard in the United States Senate only on the most important questions, when he has a large audience. He is a scholar without pedantry, a lawyer uncramped with technicalities, a statesman but not a politician. He is a man fit to fill any high position to which he may aspire, and with which he may be honored by his fellow countrymen.

George Frisbie Hoar

Senior Senator from Massachusetts

JURIST AND STATESMAN

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR comes of one of the most distinguished American families, whose names have been linked with American history from the days of the Revolution. His father was the eminent statesman, Samuel Hoar, a member of Congress and state councilor.

George F. Hoar was born in Concord, Mass., August 29, 1826. He studied at Harvard, and was admitted to the bar of his native state in 1849. He served in the State Legislature from 1869 until 1877, when he was elected to represent Massachusetts in the United States Senate. He served as delegate to the Republican National Conventions which met at Cincinnati in 1876, and in Chicago in 1880, 1884, and 1888, being chairman of the convention held in 1880. He was a member also of the famous Electoral Commission which declared Rutherford Hayes President in 1876. He has been president and vice-president of a great number of societies, and is recognized as the most cultured and polished of American statesmen. He has received the degree of Doctor of Law from several colleges, including Williams and Marys, Amherst, Yale and Harvard. He has been a staunch Republican from the first, thoroughly independent in politics, fearless in expressing his views and criticizing the policy of his party. On the subject of the expansion and the government of our new possessions he has felt it his duty to not stand with his party in the policy that they have so far pursued. His defense of his position he ably presented in a recent address, which is quoted in this volume.

Charles Arnette Towne

Nominated by People's Party, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for Vice President.

Few men have risen into prominence as rapidly as has the subject of this sketch, who was born in Oakland County, Michigan, November 21, 1858. After completing his academic education he took up the study of law, and began practice in Duluth, Minnesota. His early party affiliation was with the Republican party, and as such he served one term in Congress, 1895-1897. He early took up the advocacy of the coinage of free silver, and in the campaign of 1896 he sided with that branch of his party, which withdrew from the convention at St. Louis and organized a new party. He has been the national chairman of the Silver Republican party since 1897. His sympathies were so decidedly favorable to the views held by the Populist and Democratic parties, on silver and trusts, that he received the nomination of the former for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with Wm. Jennings Bryan, at Sioux Falls, S. D., and at one time it was thought that the Democratic party at Kansas City would place him on their ticket. It was only upon his earnest plea to the Silver Republican party, at Kansas City, that his name was not put as a second on their ticket. It was his duty to call to order the convention of the Silver party at Kansas City on July 4, and in doing so, he delivered a speech which was impressive and very suggestive, in which he said in speaking of his old party that

"The men whom we to-day immediately represent left the Republican party in 1896 chiefly because of its action at St. Louis in betraying the cause of bimetallism and surrendering to the banking combination. All men who see the danger must unite to avert it. If we had not left the Republican party in 1896 we should be compelled, as patriots to leave in 1900, and forever."

CHAPTER XXIV

The Prohibition Convention

The National Convention of the Prohibition Party Met in Chicago, June 28, 1900—730 Delegates were Present—Issues of the Campaign Discussed and Platform Adopted

THE convention of the Prohibition party, which assembled in Chicago, showed enthusiasm which excelled that of any other convention held previously by the advocates of total abstinence and prohibition of the liquor traffic. Forty states of the Union were represented by delegates, thirty-seven of them being represented at the opening session. Oliver Stewart, Chairman of the National Committee, called the convention to order in the large auditorium of the First Regiment Armory. The convention was opened with prayer by Dr. J. Wesley Maxwell, of Greensburg, Ill. The galleries surrounding the large drill room in which the assembly met were filled with spectators who were, of course, intensely interested in the proceedings of the convention. The delegates from the New England states marched into the hall in a body, each delegate carrying a banner on which was represented a canteen with the letters "U. S." inverted, and bearing the legend "Anti-canteen." This brought forth great applause. Chairman Stewart first delivered a brief address, after which he introduced the Rev. John H. Hill, of Chicago, who, at considerable length, welcomed the delegates to Chicago. There were present in the convention many who had been delegates to the convention held in Chicago in 1869. They were invited to the platform and given seats of honor. Chairman Stewart then announced the temporary officers, as follows: For chairman, Samuel Dickie, of Michigan; secretary, A. E. Wilson, of Chicago. Mr. Dickie, in accepting the chair, made a brief and forcible speech, in

which he outlined the work to be done by the convention, and declared that he believed the "Prohibition party is on the eve of important events, as it represents reforms before which all other national reforms pale into insignificance or disappear altogether," and that the old parties stood for the continuance and perpetuation of the liquor traffic. He severely arraigned the national administration for its attitude on the Canteen Law, and charged it with debauching the peoples of the new possessions in the Philippines, charging also that the government had used its consular service for the gathering of information for the use of distillers and brewers.

In the afternoon session the Committee on Credentials reported seating 693 members at the first session, to which others were expected to be added in the succeeding days. The Committee on Permanent Organization recommended Samuel Dickie, of Michigan, for permanent chairman, and Colonel R. S. Cheves, of Tennessee, for permanent secretary. The list of national committeemen, as selected by the delegates of various states and reported by the committee, was read and unanimously adopted.

EVENING SESSION

The evening session of the convention expected to hear the reading of the platform, but upon assembling it found that the committee was not yet prepared. An hour was spent very pleasantly and profitably in speeches and campaign songs, all of which were given great applause, which gave the convention the appearance of the campaign rally of a great party. Soon after nine o'clock Chairman Chafin appeared with the report of his committee, and the reading of the platform was listened to with great interest. At its conclusion it was received with the wildest enthusiasm. The parts which condemned President McKinley for his attitude in regard to the Canteen Law and the conduct of the war in the Philippines were greeted with shouts of approval, the delegates standing on their chairs to make themselves seen and heard. The woman's suffrage plank had been left out of the platform, and was distasteful

to many delegates. The secretary read a resolution recommended by the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this convention that the right of the ballot be not denied any citizen on account of sex." After considerable discussion a rising vote was called for, and the platform and the additional resolution favoring woman's suffrage was adopted by a practically unanimous vote, amid a tempest of cheers. It was a magnificent sight when some of the delegates started the old hymn, "Blest be the Tie that Binds," and the whole assembly joined in the thunderous song of praise, after which the convention adjourned until the succeeding day, with the expectation that the nominations would be made for the two places on the ticket.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

Chairman Dickie called the convention to order at 10 o'clock sharp, and the galleries of the great First Regiment Armory were thronged with interested spectators, and the number of delegates had increased over those reported the previous day. Rev. C. H. Mead, of New Jersey, offered a brief prayer, and the chairman of the Committee on Credentials made a second report, showing that the total number of delegates present was 730, representing forty States. Chairman Dickie's voice failing him, A. G. Wolfenbarger, of Nebraska, took the chair. The chairman of the National Committee, Mr. Oliver W. Stewart, was recognized by the chair, and at considerable length outlined the work of the National Committee during the last four years, speaking especially of the difficulties which stood in their way and the evidence of success they had met with in the different States. He also outlined the proposed plans for the coming campaign, which they expected to make more far-reaching and enthusiastic than any campaign in the history of the Prohibition party. He made an earnest appeal for funds with which to conduct the campaign, and as a result several thousand dollars were soon subscribed by the delegates and visitors present. Colonel Brewer, of the Salvation Army, and widely known for his interest in the temperance work, was introduced, and

made an eloquent appeal for the cause of prohibition. He received an ovation of cheers when he took his seat. The convention then proceeded to nominations, and the chair announced that the roll of states would be called for their nominations for President. National Chairman Stewart was the first to be recognized, and in a burst of eloquence placed the name of John G. Woolley, of Illinois, in nomination. He bitterly arraigned both President McKinley and Wm. J. Bryan for their attitude on the temperance question, and then spoke of the wonderful vitality and permanency of the Prohibition party, saying :

“ Our continued safety depends upon our remaining true to our first high principles and in our being brave enough to stand by those principles until we win humanity to them, even if we do not elect a candidate in the next century. It is for us at this hour to bear in mind the high and solemn duty towards the hundreds of thousands at home and to the cause for which we stand.

This is not a time for experiments. We must not strive for an increased vote by any other means than by straight party work. Votes will hurt rather than help unless they come to stay to the finish.”

Mr. George W. Gere, of Illinois, then took the floor, and put in nomination Hale Johnson, the favorite son of his state, describing him as a soldier, whose father and grandfather were soldiers and all men who had made a distinguished record. He was also an honest lawyer, and in every way fully competent to assume the duties of the high office for which he put him in nomination. Pennsylvania was then given precedence by the chair in recognizing Mr. Homer L. Castle, of Pittsburg, who came forward, and, amid great applause, spoke of the qualifications of Dr. Swallow as a candidate for the presidency, in a speech so remarkable for its eloquence and for its description of the qualities of an ideal candidate that we give it at length.

MR. CASTLE'S SPEECH

There lives in the city of Harrisburg, upon the banks of the Susquehanna, a man six feet tall, and every inch backbone. To what may I liken him? For steadfastness I might liken him to the giant oak which holds even 'midst the storms which sweep through its great branches. But the figure is tame, for the oak stands because it is held, whereas he holds in and of himself amidst storms

that few men would dare to face. For grandness and magnificence of character I might liken him to a great mountain, lifting its shaggy head above cloud and rain, whose base rests upon the foundations laid by the Creator, and whose summit is glory-covered with perpetual snows.

HATED AND FEARED BY POLITICIANS

He has polled more votes for a state office upon a clean, clear-cut Prohibition platform than any other man who ever ran for office in any state at any time; a number greater than that polled for our last Presidential candidate. He is more cordially hated and feared by the politicians of Pennsylvania than any living man.

He it is who made it possible to hold a Prohibition meeting at almost any time of the day or night, in any spot, in city or country, regardless of other meetings of any kind and character, and be absolutely assured of a crowd only limited by the capacity of the house where he spoke.

He it was who I saw stand before 5,000 conservative Philadelphians, while for ten minutes they cheered, flung their hats, women doffed their bonnets, umbrellas waved and why? Because this remarkable man represented in himself the high-water mark of Christian ethics as applied to the politics of a state or nation.

Shall I speak his name? You know it now. It is known from the farthest end of the Pine Tree State to the most southern limit of the land of perpetual summer.

NOT AS OTHER PRESIDENTS

As things at the national capital go now, Dr. Swallow would be at some disadvantage as a President, and I might as well tell it now, so you may judge wisely in your choice of a candidate.

It's utterly impossible for him to get his ear to the ground. He is not built that way. His ears, like his head and heart, are up towards God and the skies. I appreciate the fact that there are many voices a man may hear with his ear to the ground, but if Dr. Swallow is to be your leader, you must consent to substitute the voice of heaven for the voices coming from the ground.

Dr. Swallow is not good on nullification. When in his tramps back and forth on Capitol Hill, Harrisburg, he saw the common every day law of honesty being set aside and nullified by state officials high and low, he was just old fogy enough to raise his voice in protest. We know that in payment 132,000 men in Pennsylvania petitioned him to be Governor, and how many petitions were suppressed by the Republican machine, God only knows.

When the laws of the M. E. Church enjoined total abstinence he does not understand that at banquet time or state dinners that law can be nullified.

When the Church forbids alliance with the whisky parties he has not yet learned that the law may be annulled on election day.

When Congress says that 'no soldier shall be required or any other person be permitted to sell intoxicating liquors in any army canteen,' Dr. Swallow is just so constituted that even the aid of an Attorney General would not induce him to nullify that law.

He tramped with the soldiers in blue to establish the doctrine that law was greater than any state or any official in any state. He stands to-day upon ground which the Republican party has distinctly abandoned, viz: 'Law may be set aside if its enforcement is obnoxious to the powers that be.' He has the advantage of having lived and preached and edited such pure Methodist doctrine as to lead a Methodist conference to practically read his paper, *The Pennsylvania Methodist*, out of the Church, and still it continues week after week pounding away at the citadel of error and cowardice which has enthroned itself even in that grand old Church.

" You want a man to be your leader who shall be as straight and tall as the young Saul. He must be as fearless and unsparing in the denunciation of sin in high places as was John the Baptist. He must be as untiring and persistent as a Paul. He must be as ready for sacrifice as a Stephen. He must be as stern and unrelenting as John Knox. He must be as sweet tempered as a Melanchthon. He must be as pure, clean and noble minded as John Wesley. In a word, he must be such a one as shows by his life that he is an act of God, his life a breath of divinity.

" Such a man, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor to present to you in the person of Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, whom I nominate as candidate for the office of President of the United States."

At the conclusion of Mr. Castle's speech, the Pennsylvania delegates arose as one man, with their hands full of gayly colored pampas plumes and large pictures of Dr. Swallow, and waving them back and forth, they shouted wildly, while other delegates blew horns and waved their state banners. It was many minutes before the vast audience could be gotten under control, and it appeared that there might be a stampede to Dr. Swallow. There were no further nominations, but several eloquent speeches were made seconding the nominations, among which Ralph T. Coursey, of Delaware, in his own inimitable way, seconded Dr. Woolley's nomination. There was quite a stir when Rev. E. E. Carr, of Illinois,

attempted to make a speech seconding the nomination of Dr. Swallow, as his own delegation was almost unanimously in favor of Dr. Woolley.

AFTERNOON SESSION

In the afternoon session other seconding speeches were made, Volney B. Cushing, of Maine, seconding the nomination of Dr. Swallow, and F. E. Britton, of Michigan, that of Dr. Woolley. At the conclusion of these speeches, which the vast audience seemed to enjoy greatly, the roll of states was called for, and votes taken, which resulted in Dr. Woolley's receiving 380 votes and Dr. Swallow 320 votes. Chairman Dickie, in vain attempted to quell the tempest of applause which followed the announcement, almost splintered the table with his gavel in his efforts to restore order. The nomination of Dr. Woolley for President was finally made unanimous, and the convention proceeded to hear names for the second place. It was apparent that the convention was ready to give the second place to Dr. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, but after consulting with his friends he declined to have his name presented. Mr. A. H. Morrow, delegate from Massachusetts, placed in nomination for Vice President Henry E. Metcalf, of Rhode Island. The other nominations were Dr. E. L. Eaton, of Des Moines, Iowa, Thomas R. Caskardon, of West Virginia, and James A. Tate, of Tennessee. The latter withdrew his name, and the roll of delegates was ordered to be called, and showed an overwhelming vote in favor of Metcalf, as follows:

Metcalf received	349
Caskardon "	142
Eaton "	113
Total votes	604

Dr. Eaton moved that the nomination of Mr. Metcalf be made unanimous, the motion was seconded gracefully by Mr. Caskardon, and carried.

The convention then adopted the customary resolutions of thanks, and appointed committees to formally notify the candidates

of their nomination. Thereupon the convention closed, amid great enthusiasm and sanguine expectation that the campaign would be an interesting one.

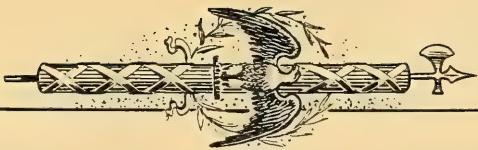
PROHIBITION PARTY PLATFORM

Adopted at Chicago, Ill., June 27, 1900.

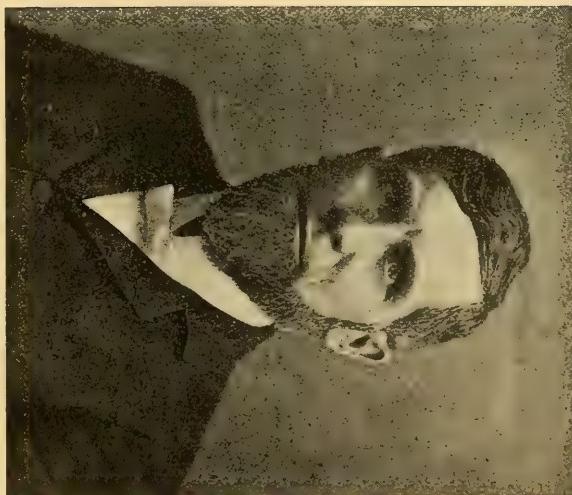
PREAMBLE: The National Prohibition Party in Convention, represented at Chicago, June 27 and 28, 1900, acknowledge Almighty God as the supreme source of all just government, realizing that this republic was founded upon Christian principles, and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims :

First. We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting by their joint endeavor the national interest upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed." We declare that there is no principle now advocated by any other party which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principle of prohibition applied to the beverage liquor traffic ; that the national interests could be promoted in no other way so surely and so widely as by its assertion, through a national policy and the co-operation therein of every state forbidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes ; that we stand for this as the only principle proposed by any party anywhere for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future and financial welfare ; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country, agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be upon minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot box, from this time forward, until prohibition is the established law of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to ensure its moral and material benefits.

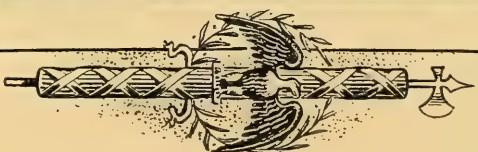
We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, could successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government in legislative halls and in the legislative chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership and as to which, because of such difference, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.



ROBERT E. PATTISON.
EX-GOV. OF PENNSYLVANIA AND DEMOCRATIC LEADER.



REV. SILAS C. SWALLOW.
PROHIBITION LEADER FROM PENNSYLVANIA.





SERENO E. PAYNE.
REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW YORK.



RICHARD F. PETTIGREW.
SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA.



We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed policy to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizen and breeds the purchasable voter money will continue to buy its way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

We propose as a first step in the financial problems of the nation to save more than a billion of dollars every year now annually expended to support the liquor traffic and to demoralize our people. When that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that with a clearer atmosphere the country can address itself to the questions as to kind and quantity of currency needed.

THE ISSUE PRESENTED

Second. We reaffirm as true, indisputably, the declaration of William Windom, when Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of President Arthur, that "considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and that "the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress." We hold that the existence of our party presents this issue squarely to the American people, and lays upon them the responsibility of choice between liquor parties, dominated by distillers and brewers, with their policy of saloon perpetuation, breeding waste, wickedness, woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption and crime and our one party of patriotic and moral principle, with a policy which defends it from domination by corrupt bosses and which insures it forever against the blighting control of saloon politics.

We face with sorrow, shame and fear the awful fact that this liquor traffic has a grip on our government, municipal, state and national, through the revenue system and saloon sovereignty, which no other party dares to dispute; a grip which dominates the party now in power, from caucus to Congress, from policeman to President, from the rumshop to the White House, a grip which compels the Chief Executive to consent that law shall be nullified in behalf of the brewer, that the canteen shall curse our army and spread intemperance across the seas, and that our flag shall wave as the symbol of partnership, at home and abroad, between this government and the men who defy and define it for their own profit and gain.

THE PRESIDENT ARRAIGNED

Third. We charge upon President McKinley, who was selected to his high office by appeals to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that, by his conspicuous example as a wine drinker at public banquets,

and as a wine serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of the young men and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute, than any other President this Republic has had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant and effective rebuke.

We challenge denial of the fact that our Executive, as Commander-in-Chief of the military forces of the United States, at any time prior to or since March 2, 1899, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes did before him, and should have closed them for the same reasons which actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress passed March 2, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquors "in any post, exchange or canteen," by any "officer or private soldier" or by "any other person," "on any premises used for military purposes in the United States," was and is as explicit an act of prohibition as the English language can frame; we declare our solemn belief that the Attorney General of the United States in his interpretation of that law, and the Secretary of War in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and endorsement of such interpretation and refusal on the part of the officials appointed by and responsible to him, shares responsibility in their guilt, and we record our conviction that a new and serious peril confronts our country, in the fact that its President, at the behest of the beer power, dare and does abrogate a law of Congress, through subordinates removable at will by him, and whose acts become his, and thus virtually confesses that laws are to be administered, or to be nullified, in the interest of a law defying business, by an Administration under mortgage to such business for support.

FOREIGN LIQUOR POLICY CONDEMNED

Fourth. We deplore the fact that an Administration of this Republic, claiming the right and power to carry our flag across the seas and to conquer and annex new territory, should admit its lack of power to prohibit the American saloon on subjugated soil, or should openly confess itself subject to liquor sovereignty under that flag. We are humiliated, exasperated and grieved by the evidence painfully abundant that this Administration's policy of expansion

is bearing so rapidly its fruits of drunkenness, insanity and crime, under the hot-house sun of the tropics, and when the President of the first Philippine Commission says "it was unfortunate that we introduced and established the saloon there to corrupt the natives and to exhibit the vices of our own race." We charge the inhumanity and un-Christianity of this act upon the Administration of President McKinley, and upon the party which elected and would perpetuate the same.

Fifth. We declare that the only policy which the government of the United States can of right adopt as to the liquor traffic, under the national Constitution, upon any territory under the military or civil control of that Government, is the policy of prohibition; that "to establish justice, secure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and insure the blessings of liberty, to ourselves and our posterity," as the Constitution provides, the liquor traffic must neither be sanctioned nor tolerated, and that the revenue policy which makes our government a partner with distillers and brewers and bar-keepers, is a disgrace to our civilization, an outrage upon humanity, and a crime against God.

We condemn the present Administration at Washington because it has repealed the prohibitory laws in Alaska, and has given over the partly civilized tribes there to be the prey of the American grog-shop; and because it has entered upon a license policy in our new possessions by incorporating the same in the recent act of Congress in the code of laws for the government of the Hawaiian Islands.

We call general attention to the fearful fact that exportation of liquors from the United States to the Philippine Islands increased from \$337 in 1898 to \$467,198 in the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900; and that while our exportation of liquors to Cuba never reached \$30,000 a year, previous to American occupation of that island, our exports of such liquors to Cuba, during the fiscal year of 1899, reached the sum of \$629,855.

CALL TO MORAL AND CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Sixth. One great religious body (the Baptist) having truly declared of the liquor traffic "that it has no defensible right to exist, that it can never be reformed, and that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing un-Christian, un-American, and perilous utterly to every interest in life;" another great religious body (the Methodist) having as truly asserted and reiterated that "no political party has a right to expect, nor should receive, the votes of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license system, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon"; other great religious bodies having made similar deliverances, in language plain and

unequivocal, as to the liquor traffic and the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon, and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the Prohibition policy, and which for nearly thirty years has been the faithful defender of the church, the state, the home and the school, its expanders and perpetuators, their actual and persistent foes.

We insist that no differences of belief, as to any other question or concern of government, should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial, and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over the allied hosts of evil, sin and crime, in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We declare that there are but two real parties, to-day, concerning the liquor traffic—Perpetuationists and Prohibitionists; and that patriotism, Christianity, and every interest of genuine and of pure Democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this republic.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS

The committee also reported three resolutions which were adopted though not as a part of the platform

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the ballot should not be denied to any citizen of the United States on account of sex.

Resolved, That in the organization of the Young People's Prohibition Leagues, as presented by the representatives of the League from the current platform, we recognize an efficient agency for bringing about the suppression of the liquor traffic, legalized or otherwise, and aiding in the upbuilding of the Prohibition party.

Resolved, That we recommend to the National Executive Committee and its chairman the advisability of giving such substantial aid to the organization of Young People's Prohibition Leagues as may be reasonably practicable.

The convention listened with great attention to the speeches made in placing in nomination the distinguished leaders. As a public address the speech made by Mr. Stewart created great interest and as a tribute to the successful nominee it is given in full.

SPEECH BY OLIVER W. STEWART

Placing in Nomination John G. Woolley, Candidate for the Presidency

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention: The Republican party has nominated the one man in the United States who is responsible for the army canteen, the one man in the United States who is responsible for the imperial expansion of the liquor traffic, the one man in the United States who, during the last year, probably has made more votes for the Prohibition party than any other man in America. (Applause.)

The Democratic party will meet next week at Kansas City to name as its standard bearer one, who, while he pretends to be the foe of trusts and combinations of wealth, aggregated for unholy purposes, dares not speak a word against the liquor trust, a monopoly that furnishes the corrupt and purchasable votes by which these unholy combinations entrench themselves in power.

During this campaign the issue will be joined between these two political parties, and with hands red with the blood of the victims of the saloon and the army canteen, these two political parties will stretch out those hands entreating for the support of decent citizens of America. In such a campaign as that, we, the Prohibitionists, will hold true to our course and will poll the largest vote in the party's history. (Cheers.)

One of the marvels of American politics is the tremendous hold the Prohibition party has upon life. We have seen minority parties rise and fall. We have seen our vote increase and decrease, with seemingly no chance of immediate victory, with no possibility of the election of a governor, with now and then but a member of the legislature elected on our ticket; yet the Prohibition party continues to exist and it meets here to-day with determination unequaled with spirit undaunted, with hope unquenched, and in the knowledge that with the practice of perseverance and faithfulness we have made ours not only the most remarkable minority party in the history of this country, but we have also made it politically respectable. (Applause.)

The reason for this is not difficult to find. The party has had ever within it, as a vitalizing force, a mighty moral principle, believing that it is possible whenever this nation so desires, to prohibit the liquor traffic. Yet our fundamental proposition has been that, whether we can ever prohibit it, at least we

owe it to ourselves to go out of partnership with that awful iniquity. To this proposition we have clung through discouragements and misfortunes that would have overwhelmed a party with a purpose less high and noble. But that alone, ladies and gentlemen, would not have been sufficient to keep us in the field as an organization. Our safety has depended also upon the spirit in the party that has ever turned away from the rock of fusion upon which minority parties have so frequently been wrecked. Had we been willing in the past to trade our votes for paltry offices, or put up our principles for sale, for the sake of increasing the chances of success for our candidates, we would long ago have disappeared from the arena of national politics, and would have deserved to disappear. Our continued safety depends upon remaining true to our high principles and in our being brave enough to stand by those principles until we win humanity to them, even if we do not elect a candidate for the next century.

It is for us this hour to bear in mind our duty to the thousands at home and the cause for which we stand. We have reached the most important moment in this convention. A mistake now would be little short of fatal. Our platform adopted by this convention is one upon which all can stand unitedly in the battle against the liquor traffic. (Applause.) The West accepted a platform four years ago in good faith, though it seemed to bring discouragement and demoralization, but the heart of the West was true and she will accept the platform adopted in this convention with equal good faith and go out to battle upon it. But they feel in many quarters that we need a candidate with whom we are personally acquainted, they feel that we need a candidate with whom we are personally in touch. But that does not mean that the West will not rally to any candidate East or West or North or South. (Applause.)

Illinois, my native state, has an embarrassment of riches. Two men from within the borders of our state have been repeatedly named for this, the highest honor that this convention can confer. The demand for those men, ladies and gentlemen, did not originate in Illinois, though we would be proud to originate such a demand. It started outside of this state. I think we have done a graceful thing in recognizing that demand, and Illinois stands here to-day to say that she will be equally satisfied if the choice should fall to either of her sons who will be named here to day. And it is her purpose to divide her votes between them, to leave the other states to say whether either of them is satisfactory as a candidate for the Prohibition party. There is no rivalry within the borders of our state. We are a unit with reference to this.

HUMANITY'S FRIEND

But I would name one of her sons, one who has left his sword marks wherever the head of the liquor traffic has shown itself. I come briefly to tell

why this convention should honor itself, why it should thrill thousands of homes with the blessed news that we have nominated humanity's friend, the saloon's most determined enemy, our matchless lawyer and leader John G. Woolley. (Applause and prolonged cheers.) And let me add, ladies and gentlemen, at this very moment, that I have no disposition and desire, and I shall plead that by no possibility any influence that I may have at this moment as chairman of the National Committee that I could not have in any other way should be thrown for any man for whom I stand. Let me plead that if there is a man in this house, who, because I happen to be the chairman of the National Committee, might be influenced to vote for one whom I should name, who would not vote for that one if I were not chairman of that Committee and named that man, I plead with him, do not be false to yourself by yielding to that. (Applause.) I only ask that I be heard as a delegate from my own state of Illinois, one who pleads for one he loves, who comes to present the name of a man who lives within my state, who lives within my city, who lives within my congressional district, who is almost a next door neighbor of mine.

I have no word to say touching the other candidates in this convention, other than this, that I can loyally fall in behind either Hale Johnson of Illinois, or Dr. Swallow of Pennsylvania. (Applause.) And if the choice of this convention falls to either of those men, he cannot have a more loyal supporter than I will be. But if the question should be raised for a moment as touching the propriety of my speaking, who am chairman of your National Committee—and I cannot believe there is a man in this house who would forbid that I as a delegate from Illinois, should speak for a brother and a friend whom I love and who, I believe, is a little dearer to me than almost any other man in this world—but if that should be the case, is there in this house one man who would deny to John G. Woolley, after his years of toil and loyal service, the right to have his name mentioned by any man in the Prohibition party? (Applause) I speak for him at the request of himself and his friends, and plead again that my words carry no more weight than the fact that I am a delegate from the state of Illinois who presents his name to you now.

A STATESMAN AND WELL-KNOWN

The party should select a well-known man, one whose name is familiar in every newspaper office in the United States. Our nominee should also be one, of course, who would be able to discharge the duties of this office if he were called to it. He should be a statesman acquainted with all public questions, one with the firm grasp of popular questions, a man fully as familiar with every section of the country as with the Prohibition issue. This favored son of Illinois is such a man. While he has made his fight constantly on the saloon, scores of members in this convention who have come close to him and sounded

him on other questions have found in him a source of inexhaustible information, showing a man well trained and disciplined to all public questions. I have talked with people from one ocean to the other, and I believe that all will agree that I sound the voice of the party unitedly when I say, this year we need the greatest campaigner of any party upon the platform adopted. (Cheers.)

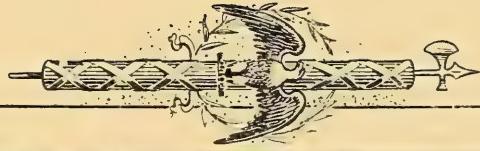
A gentleman from New York said only last night: "This is to be a campaign of mighty speakers." The Republican party will have their candidate for Vice President upon the stump. The Democratic party will put perhaps the greatest campaigner of the United States before the people. We must have a man, if we know who he is, abler than any other to stand upon the platform and meet these men, advocating the principles for which we stand. We want no tame campaign this year, if we are to poll the increased vote that the party should have. We must have a leader, able to control their thought and their attention. This is no time for us to try experiments. We must not strive for an increased vote save as we bring men to the proposition for which we stand unitedly. The chief concern of him whom I name has ever been to build up the Prohibition party upon the proposition that the saloon ought to die and that it ought to die quickly. I say what came from the lips of hundreds of you last night as you listened to the thunders of that mighty platform that we adopted last night, when we heard men say one after another, that platform calls for a man who will match it, to the last word of it, before the people. (Applause.)

I ask your judgment upon this point as we pass upon the question of availability. Why, friends, it is simply a mighty conference of a party that could have two hundred able men to choose from, as well as three. It is but a question now of our making a selection that will best suit our purpose in this immediate campaign.

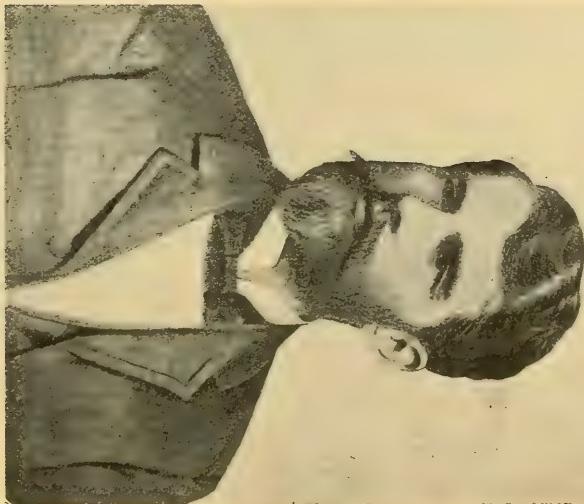
A MIGHTY PROHIBITION LEADER

I ask you to remember, too, that this one whom I name has been a mighty leader upon our platform. I ask if you remember that there are thousands who will listen to-day to know whether the Prohibition party is willing to trust its standard in his hands. He is not responsible for this singular condition of affairs, but I do think that we ought to ourselves consider that and to weigh it well as we offer our votes for the candidate who may be presented to us.

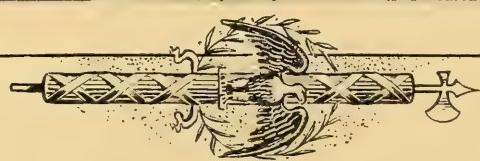
While I present his name on behalf of his friends from Illinois, we recognize the fact that he does not belong to our state alone. He belongs to the mighty Union. It is true that in Illinois he lives, it is true that here is the home over which his wife, sweet Mary Woolley, presides. It is in this home that his three stalwart, manly boys live, every one of

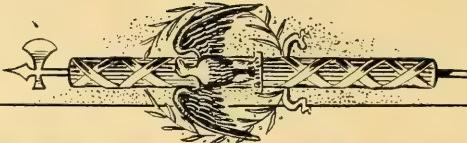


CHARLES A. TOWNE.
POPULIST NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.



SENATOR MARION BUTLER.
CHAIRMAN POPULIST NATIONAL COMMITTEE.



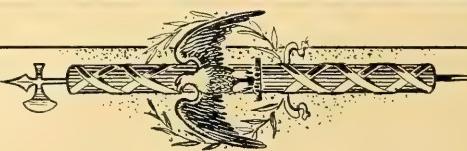


HENRY B. METCALF
PROHIBITIONIST NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Political Advertising - Official



JOHN G. WOOLLEY
PROHIBITIONIST NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT



them as clean and pure as the boys of any of you who sit before me to-day. It is in this city that the two who are of voting age will walk to the ballot box by the side of their father and cast their ballot for any man you name in this convention. It is true that in the soil of Illinois his parents sleep. I wish I knew that that mother of his who went to heaven not knowing that, by the grace of God, he was yet to be saved and redeemed and started to work to obliterate the liquor traffic in America—I wish I knew she were looking down from heaven upon us. I wish I knew that she were cognizant of the fact that in the hearts of hundreds of you now there was the determination that her boy, so saved, should carry the standard in this fight against the liquor traffic that nearly ruined his life. Perhaps she knows and that her spirit is with us.

THE TRUEST, BRAVEST VOICE

I have heard it said that John G. Woolley is the John the Baptist, that he must not expect a nomination, that he must take the reward of John the Baptist. I tell you, if he must take that reward, that Oliver W. Stewart will stand on any platform where he can get his feet to advocate to the last that we shall not turn our backs upon him while the world beheads him. (Applause.) I am for standing for a man who stands by our cause, and fifty years from now when the history is written of how the liquor traffic died in America, the historian will have to put in his history a paragraph somewhere, reading like this : 'The truest, bravest voice that was heard in all the world in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the voice of John G. Woolley.'

Put his name at the head of our ticket, and assure us of the tremendously energetic campaign that we will have.

I do not stop to consider the effect on him personally. I have never done so. I suppose it will cost any man much to accept your nomination, and if there is any man whom it will not cost much, that man is unfit to receive it. It will cost him as much, I suppose, as it will any other man who may be named here. I am thinking not alone of men; men are nothing, principles are everything. (Applause.) All that I desire is that we have the campaigner upon our platform that will carry the truth before the American people. John G. Woolley can and will draw the fire of the enemy and I want him to do it. If he cannot stand the fire of the enemy, if we cannot stand it, then I say we ought to disband and retire from the field until we are ready. Give us him as our leader. Place upon your ticket that leader tried and true, John G. Woolley of every state. (Applause and three cheers for Woolley.)

CHAPTER XXV

Lives of Prohibition Candidates

JOHN G. WOOLLEY, of Illinois

AT the conclusion of the meeting of the convention in Chicago, its candidate for the Presidency, John G. Woolley, very modestly says, in the official organ of the party, *The New Voice*, in regard to his nomination for the presidency :

"The National Convention of the Prohibition party has voted to tender me its nomination for the Presidency. I did not seek it, nor desire it. I asked not for one vote from any state or any man. I believed in the convention ; I believed in the platform ; I believed in myself. I believed that, without a banner, or a plume, or a claque, as I was, I had to be nominated. To my friends who worked to that end, I offer here my sincere thanks. Toward my other friends, who tried with such spirit and sincerity for my defeat, I have not the slightest feeling of complaint.

These words, spoken in the greatest frankness, are typical of the man, and the party may well be proud to have as its leader one who is so frank, so clear, and so honest. He is widely known over the United States as a public speaker of fine presence and magnetic power. In fact, he is an orator of very high type. He is in the prime of life, vigorous, and in every way prepared to accept the onerous duties of his position as a candidate for a party which is no longer an element of minor importance in the campaign.

John G. Woolley was born in the small town of Collingsville, near Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 15th of February, 1850. Edwin C. and Elizabeth K. H. Woolley, were among the first settlers of the state. He is an honored alumnus of the Ohio Wesleyan College of the class of 1871. Probably no institution in the Central West has turned out more men who have taken prominence in public

affairs, both state and national, or have been leaders in great movements pertaining to the moral and religious welfare of the people, than has this university, situated in the beautiful City of Delaware. As many young men are wont to do upon completing a course in one of the smaller colleges or universities, he continued his studies at the University of Michigan (Ann Harbor), entering the law school of that institution and graduating in two years. He was admitted to the bar to practice in the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1873, and five years later he was practicing before the Supreme Court of Minnesota. In 1886 he appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States, and was admitted to practice. His career at law was honorable and successful. He says of himself that he "became a Christian and a party prohibitionist at the same instant," January 31, 1888, in the city of New York, where he joined the Church of the Strangers, which was then presided over by the late Dr. Deems. He immediately entered into active Christian work, and became intensely interested in the Prohibition movement. He displayed wonderful oratorical powers, and was sought for far and wide to deliver prohibition and temperance addresses. He has given himself almost entirely to the work since January, 1888, and has made many speeches, it being said that he averaged at least one speech a day. In 1892 he was invited by Lady Somerset to be her guest in England, and while there he spoke nearly every day during seven months of a tour in the cities of England, Scotland and Wales. In the following year the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, of Illinois, engaged him to deliver three hundred lectures in as many nights in sequence throughout the state, on the subject "Inalienable Rights." All the great conventions and meetings of the Prohibition party in recent years have had the benefit of Mr. Woolley's oratory, and he has been the means of adding largely to the influence of the party in all the states. Probably the most celebrated speech of his was that delivered in Madison Square Garden at the International Y. P. S. C. E. Convention in 1892, of which a distinguished man has said: "Now, Burke Cochran (the famous New

York Tammany speaker) is an orator, but he never got in anything that spun the sunshine into streaks of golden fire like that." Mr. Woolley is the editor of "The New Voice and the Chicago Lever," published in Chicago, which city is his home. He married, soon after leaving the Wesleyan University, Miss Mary B. Gerhard, of Delaware, Ohio. He has three promising sons, all of whom, like their father, are intensely interested in the prohibition cause.

Mr. Woolley is the author of three books, namely, "A Sower," "Civilization by Faith," and "A Christian Citizen," two volumes. At the ratification meeting held in the armory, in Chicago, Mr. Woolley spoke in his usual vigorous style of the work of the party, closing with these words :

"Conscience is an imperfect thing, as yet, and easy to be deflected from the main line; the issue must be kept simple and certain and single. It must be plainly grounded on religion, for greater certainty and greater simplicity and for the additional reason that no non-suit is possible in such a case. A religious question is never disposed of until final judgment is entered at the court of last resort."

HENRY B. METCALF, of Rhode Island

Henry B. Metcalf, the Prohibition nominee for Vice President is in his seventy-second year of age. He was born in Massachusetts and educated in the public school of his native state. He is now a resident of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, where he is president of one of the large savings banks of that city. He is actively connected with church work. As president of the Board of Trustees of Tufts College, he exercises great influence in the management of that institution. Mr. Metcalf was for many years an earnest worker in the Republican party, but seeing that there was no hope of obtaining temperance legislation under their rule, he identified himself with the Prohibition party many years ago. He was several times the nominee of the Prohibition party for Governor of Rhode Island. His name will carry great influence among all Prohibitionists in the coming campaign.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Life and Public Services of William Jennings Bryan

The Democratic Candidate for President—A Leader in all
the Questions of the Day—A Typical American.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, of Lincoln, Neb., is a native of Illinois. He was born in Salem, Marion County, in that State, March 19, 1860. His father, Silas L. Bryan, a native of Culpepper County, Virginia, was a prominent and respected lawyer, who represented his district for eight years in the State Senate, and later was a Circuit Court Judge for twelve years.

EARLY LIFE.

The son entered the Illinois College at Jacksonville in 1877, and completed the classical course, graduating with honors in 1881. He later attended a law school in Chicago, working in the late Lyman Trumbull's law office in order to pay his way through college. He began the practice of his profession at Jacksonville, Ill., but in 1887 he removed to Lincoln, Neb., establishing a law partnership with one of his college classmates. From his earliest years he had a fancy for public speaking, which developed his oratorical powers. In 1880 he won second prize as the representative of Illinois College in the state collegiate oratorical contest. He was valedictorian of his college class, and came within one vote of being elected to the same position in the Law School. From 1880 on he spoke in political campaigns.

HIS FIRST POLITICAL EFFORT

Bryan supported J. Sterling Morton for Congress in 1888, but the man who was later to be Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of Agriculture was defeated at the polls by 3,500 votes. Next time, in 1890,

Bryan took the nomination and ran against the same Republican who had so badly defeated Mr. Morton. Bryan had much better luck. He challenged his adversary to a series of joint debates, and made so brilliant a showing that he carried the district, which had given the Republicans 3,500 majority two years before, by a majority of 6,700 votes. The fame he gained in the joint debates, of which the tariff was the theme, induced Speaker Crisp to appoint Bryan on the Ways and Means Committee, an honor which few Congressmen have ever won during their first term in the House. On March 12, 1892, he scored his first great oratorical success with a speech on free wool. This deliverance led Mr. Kilgore to declare it the best speech made on the floor of the House for ten years, and Mr. Culberson to remark that it was one of the ablest addresses he had ever listened to, and Mr. Lane to say that it stamped its author as one of the brightest and ablest men in Congress.

AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE SILVER PURCHASE ACT.

The reapportionment of 1891 divided Bryan's Congressional District in such a way that it made his canvass in 1892 very difficult. The district was admittedly Republican by a majority of more than 3,000. Bryan went into the work heart and soul, however, and turned the Republican majority into a Democratic plurality of 146. J. Sterling Morton ran for Governor of Nebraska in that election, and received fewer votes than any man on the ticket in that district, just half as many as Bryan. In August, 1893, when the bill to repeal the Silver Purchase Act was before Congress, Bryan again distinguished himself as a speech-maker. It was said at the time that he made the best showing in the debate of any of the free-silver leaders. Bryan had long consorted with the Populists, and that explained his great power over the farmers. In the fall of 1893 he got the Senatorial bee in his bonnet, and aimed to "wallop" Secretary Morton and the Administration Democrats in the State Convention. The convention, however, endorsed the Administration four to one, and refused to give any recognition

either to Bryan or his silver vagaries. The platform contained a cordial expression of confidence in Mr. Cleveland, despite Bryan's agile efforts to have the convention pursue another course. The convention declared :

" We, the representatives of the Democratic party in Nebraska, in State Convention assembled, send hearty greetings to our President, Grover Cleveland, and renew the expression of our confidence and pride in his patriotism, courage and wisdom. We heartily endorse the Administration of President Cleveland. We reaffirm the truths so forcibly set forth by the President in his message to the special session of Congress. We favor his recommendation to Congress therein made for the repeal of the Silver Purchase clause of the Sherman Act, and we call upon the United States Senators to speedily pass the pending bill for the prompt and unconditional repeal of that vicious law."

Before the election of 1894 Mr. Bryan refused a renomination for Congress, continuing his campaign for the Senatorship as the successor of Mr. Manderson. He still openly declared for free silver coinage, and this caused the Morton Democrats to fight him bitterly. He was, however, nominated by the State Democratic Convention. Two joint debates, at Lincoln and at Omaha, respectively, with John M. Thurston, the Republican candidate for the Senatorship attracted much attention. The Legislature, however, was Republican, and Mr. Thurston was elected. During the past two years, since his defeat for the Senate, Bryan has been lecturing on financial topics in all parts of the country.

HIS PERSONALITY

He is a man of considerable personal magnetism and fine presence. The resemblance between him and the late Samuel J. Randall has been remarked by many. He is about 5 feet 10 inches in height, weighs 180 pounds, and has dark hair and dark eyes. His jaw is heavy and square, and he is smooth shaven. His cheekbones are prominent and his forehead square.

He is an exceedingly pleasant talker, and is fond of dealing in well-rounded phrases. His speeches abound with poetry. He is of Irish extraction, but his people have lived in this country for more than a hundred years. In religion he is a Presbyterian, but believes in the entire separation of Church and State. He steadfastly opposes bringing religion into politics or politics into religion. He is a teetotaler.

Mr. Bryan is the outspoken enemy of class legislation, and believes that the government has fully answered its purpose when it protects every citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and leaves him just as free as possible to exercise his ability, industry and economy. He is also a believer in local self-government, and was emphatically opposed to the Federal election law because it sought to take away from the locality the control of Congressional elections.

He favors free coinage and believes in a tariff for revenue only, and denies the right of government to take from any man by means of taxation any money not needed for government expenses, or to tax one man to enrich another. He is opposed to bounties and subsidies. He made his main fight against the McKinley Bill, denouncing it as the most infamous conspiracy ever attempted against the consumers of this country.

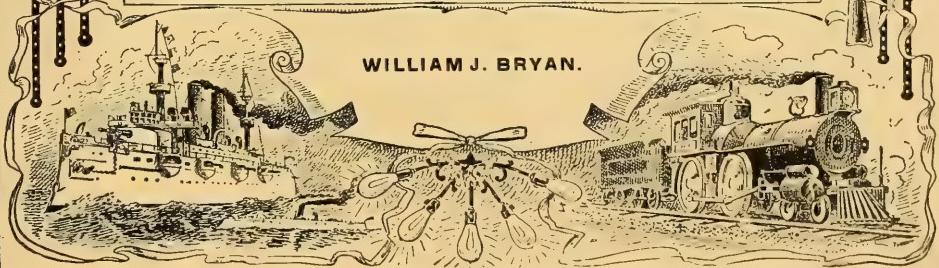
MR. AND MRS. BRYAN AT HOME

Mr. Bryan's wife, who has been a close figure in all his public life, cannot go unmentioned. She was Miss Mary E. Baird, and was the only daughter of a prosperous merchant in Perry, Ill. She has a pure, handsome, thoroughbred face, and is withal a woman of rare mental endowments.

After the birth of her first child Mrs. Bryan began the study of law, with her husband as instructor, taking one course prescribed by the college from which he graduated. She was admitted to the bar in 1888. She never thought to practice. Her only motive was to aid her husband in his life work, and she might be safely



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.





Sincerely yours—
Mary Baird Bryan

credited with at least half of all there is good and honest and successful in the Nebraska man.

Mr. Bryan lives well in a commodious dwelling in the fashionable part of Lincoln. The study in which both Mr. and Mrs. Bryan have desks is a very attractive room. It is filled with books, statuary and mementoes of campaigns. There are busts or portraits of noted men, and there are two butcher knives which Mr. Bryan used in the campaign with Judge Field, to refute the latter's boasts of the effects of high protection.

Mrs. Bryan has a great liking for politics, and accompanies her husband on many of his Nebraska jaunts. Her tastes are essentially literary and she has written much for various causes. She is a charming woman, and is as great a favorite in Lincoln as her husband. She was one of the organizers of Sorosis, the leading woman's club of Lincoln, and is also a member of the W. C. T. U. and other societies. Mr. Bryan says she is invaluable to him in suggestions and the preparation of material and in advice as to points and methods. His family consists, besides Mrs. Bryan, of Ruth, aged eleven; William, Jr., aged six, and Grace, aged five. The children are very bright, pretty and well-bred.

Bryan in personal appearance is the picture of health, mental, moral, and physical. He is a pronounced brunette, has a massive head, a clean-shaven face, an aquiline nose, square chin, a broad chest, large lustrous dark eyes, a mouth extending almost from ear to ear, teeth as white as chalk, and hair—what there is left of it—black as midnight. Beneath his eyes is the protuberant flesh which physiognomists say is indicative of fluency of language and which was one of the most striking features in the face of James G. Blaine.

BRYAN AS AN ORATOR

An enthusiastic admirer of Bryan as an orator has written of him as follows:

"Bryan neglects none of the accessories of oratory. Nature richly endowed him with rare grace. He is happy in attitude and pose. His gestures are on Hogarth's line of beauty. Mellifluous

is the one word that most aptly describes his voice. It is strong enough to be heard by thousands. It is sweet enough to charm those the least inclined to music. It is so modulated as not to vex the ear with monotony and can be stern and pathetic, fierce or gentle, serious or humorous, with the varying emotions of its master. In his youth Bryan must have had a skillful teacher in elocution and must have been a docile pupil. He adorns his speeches with illustrations from the classics or from the common occurrences of everyday life with equal felicity and facility. Some passages from his orations are gems and are being used as declamations by boys at school—the ultimate tribute to American eloquence."

EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES

The following extracts from some of Mr. Bryan's speeches in Congress have been much quoted by campaign orators, and did much to establish his fame as one of the leading exponents of the income tax and free silver theory.

"The poor man who takes property by force (Bryan said, in one of his silver-tongued deliverances) is called a thief, but the creditor who can by legislation make a debtor pay a dollar twice as large as he borrowed is lauded as the friend of a sound currency. The man who wants people to destroy the government is an Anarchist, but the man who wants the government to destroy the people is a patriot."

Again he said:

"The gentlemen who are so fearful of socialism when the poor are exempted from an income tax, view with indifference those methods of taxation which give the rich a substantial exemption. They weep more because \$15,000,000 is to be collected from the incomes of the rich, than they do at the collection of \$300,000,000 upon the goods which the poor consume. And when an attempt is made to equalize these burdens, not fully, but partially only, the people of the South and West are called Anarchists. I deny the accusation, sir. It is among the people of the South and West, on

the prairies and in the mountains, that you find the staunchest supporters of government, and the best friends of law and order.

"You may not find among these people the great fortunes which are accumulated in cities, nor will you find the dark shadows which these fortunes throw over the community, but you will find those willing to protect the rights of property, even while they demand that property shall bear its share of taxation. You may not find among them as much of wealth, but you will find men who are not only willing to pay their taxes to support the government, but are willing whenever necessary to offer up their lives in its defence. These people, sir, whom you call Anarchists because they ask that the burdens of government shall be equally borne, these people have ever borne the cross on Calvary and saved their country with their blood."

A STRIKING THOUGHT

"I may be in error" (said Bryan on another occasion), "but in my humble judgement he who would rob man of his necessary food or pollute the springs at which he quenches his thirst, or steal away from him his accustomed rest, or condemn his mind to the gloomy night of ignorance, is no more an enemy of his race than the man who, deaf to the entreaties of the poor and blind, to the suffering he would cause, seeks to destroy one of the money metals given by the Almighty to supply the needs of commerce."

In the convention at Chicago, in 1896, Mr. Bryan led the Nebraska silver delegation. There were two contesting delegations from the state. The National Committee reported in favor of the gold men, but when the matter was referred to the Credentials Committee the latter at once reported in favor of the delegates led by Mr. Bryan. The motion to adopt the report in the convention was declared carried by a *viva voce* vote.

Mr. Bryan made a speech in the convention in reply to ex-Senator Hill, of New York, which completely won for him the nomination. As an oration it compares well with the most eloquent efforts of Henry Clay and James G. Blaine. We give an extract from this

speech, which will be long remembered as the "Crown of Thorns, the Cross of Gold" speech.

It certainly has become an historic achievement in American speech making as well as a literary curiosity :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentleman to whom you have listened if this were but a measuring of ability, but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defence of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. * * * * *

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out, as this issue has been, by the voters themselves. On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of a majority of the Democratic party to control the position of the party on this paramount issue; concluding with the request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize and take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that if successful they would crystalize in a platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by the plain people of this country.

In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother and father against father. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people.

SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE

We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Senator Hill), but we knew that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceded (Governor Russell) spoke of the old state of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the state of Massachusetts.

But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest citizens in the state of Massachusetts. When you come before us to tell us that we shall disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course. We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of a business man. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the

application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain.

The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding-places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back-room, corner the money of the world.

We come to speak for this broader class of business men. Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast ; but those hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected school-houses for the education of their young, and churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this country.

* * * * *

INCOME TAX

They say we passed an unconstitutional law. I deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one judge changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said you will find

that he said that in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracies of Catiline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America.

We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin money and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation.

* * * * *

Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask us here why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we did not embody all these things in our platform which we believe, we reply to them that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished.

A SUDDEN CHANGE

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of this country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think we could elect a President; but we had good reason for the suspicion, because there is scarcely a state here to-day asking for the gold standard that is not within the absolute control of the Republican party.

* * * * *

I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why

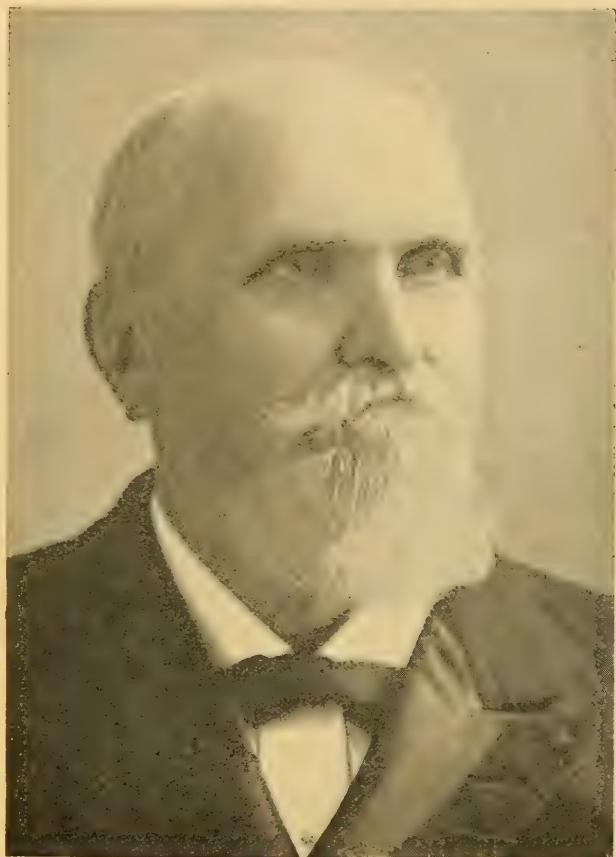
should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let go? Here is the line of battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? So if they come to meet us on that, we can present the history of our nation. More than that. We can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard.

* * * * *

TWO IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT

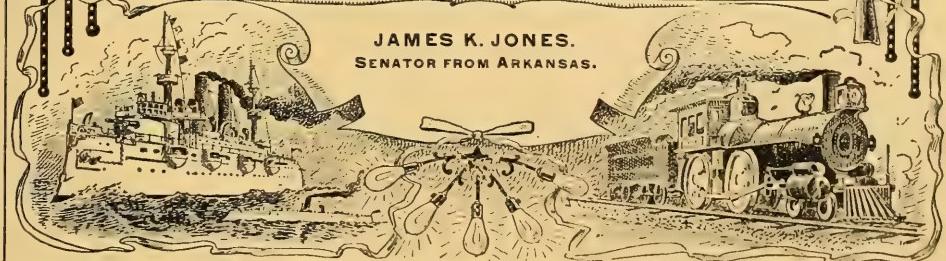
There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up and through every class and rest upon it. You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile praries. Burn down your cities and leave our farms and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country.

If they dare to come out and in the open defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."



CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

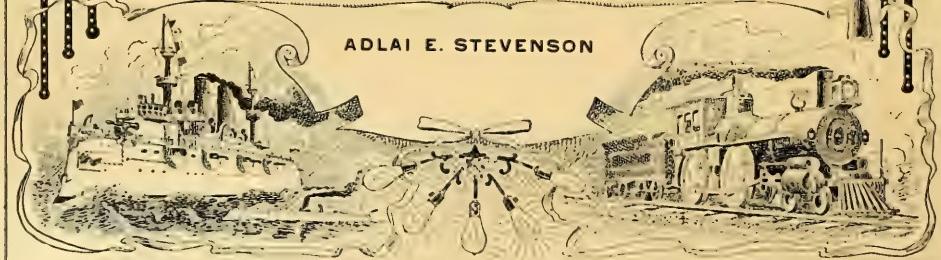
JAMES K. JONES.
SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS.





DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

ADLAI E. STEVENSON



The campaign which followed was remarkable beyond precedent. It is doubtful if during the days of slavery agitation there was ever so general and so intense interest taken in a presidential election.

BRYAN IN THE CAMPAIGN

Mr. Bryan, departing from the usual custom of presidential candidates, made a personal canvass. The influential press of the country was against him on account of his views on the money question. He knew his hope of success lay in getting at the people and speaking to them personally. Within about ninety days he traveled over almost the entire country east of the Rocky Mountains, covering 18,831 miles, visiting 477 cities, in which he delivered by actual count 600 speeches. For the entire time—excepting Sundays, when he always rested—his daily average was about 275 miles traveled, five towns visited, and six speeches delivered. No public speaker ever approached such a feat of endurance, or spoke so often or to so many people in the same length of time.

When it was determined that McKinley was elected—he receiving 7,104,779 and Bryan 6,502,925 of the popular vote—Mr. Bryan accepted his defeat without apparent discouragement, and with that admirable characteristic Americanism which does what it can when it can't do what it prefers to, the would-be president went back to his law practice in his same old quarters at Lincoln, Nebraska. Mr. Bryan also lectured in answer to many calls throughout the country on social, financial and political topics; and in 1897 he made an extensive tour in Mexico to study the conditions of the people, and especially to investigate the financial progress of the government under free coinage of both gold and silver.

Early in 1898 Mr. Bryan was several times interviewed regarding the war with Spain. He approved President McKinley's policy of prudence in entering upon hostilities, but when war had been declared he favored its prompt and rigorous prosecution as the most speedy and least expensive means of bringing it to a successful close. He was the first man to enlist as a private in the Third

Regiment of Nebraska Volunteers on May 19, 1898. So contagious was his example that "Company A" was filled within five hours, and Bryan was made its captain. When the regiment was completed, Mr. Bryan was appointed colonel by the Governor of the State, and promptly accepted the honor.

The following estimate of "William Jennings Bryan—the Man," by James Creelman, is a picture true to life and worthy of a place in every biography of the hero of two campaigns:

"The moral passion which dominates and enfolds Mr. Bryan's public life is also the key to his private character. When Cicero spoke the people said, 'How eloquent is Cicero!' but when Demosthenes spoke the people said, 'Let us go against Philip.' There is something about Mr. Bryan that makes all who associate with him more earnest, more ready to make sacrifices, more indifferent to mere abuse and more intensely and peculiarly American. There are no secrets in his life. To be with him is like walking on the seashore in the sunlight. At forty he has still the unsullied ideals, the unbroken faith of a boy. And any man may be his comrade if he will; nay, his very brother."

HONEST IN POLITICS AS IN PRIVATE LIFE

"The other night in Chicago a committee of strangers called to escort Mr Bryan to a public banquet. Mr. Bryan went on shaving himself before a mirror while he talked to the committee, and presently his visitors were busy putting the studs in his shirt bosom. An hour or two later he soared out of himself in a really great oration, lifting his hearers to the supremest heights of patriotic thought—an appeal for a republic so just in all its ways, so majestic in its virtue, that all the nations in the world would turn to it as the arbitrator of their differences.

Mr. Bryan is temperance incarnate. He loves literature rather than art, the trout stream rather than the theatre, the farm rather than the city, the small church rather than the cathedral. He loves men more than books and books more than money.

There was a time when Mr. Bryan felt that some day the crimes of lawless wealth and rapacious corporate power against the toilers of the country would bring on a physical struggle, and in those days Mr. Bryan was a gladiator, with the fierce unforgiving spirit of a gladiator. But a new tenderness of spirit has come into his life. He seems to be filled with the idea that love is the only uplifting force in the world, and that love is as necessary and as natural in politics and statesmanship as in private affairs. I have heard him talk of his enemies without a word of bitterness. I have heard him defend Mr. McKinley from unjust attacks. He loathes and avoids personalities or abuse in conversation. This is one of the noblest and most attractive traits in his personal life. He is decent and tolerant in his speech; fair, just, even tempered.

CHARACTER AND MANNERS

Two days ago a distinguished woman said to me: 'You have associated with Mr. Bryan a great deal. Isn't it a fact that he is provincial, that he has not polish enough for the White House?' It is true that Mr. Bryan is provincial, but only in the sense that Abraham Lincoln was provincial. He is careless of his clothes but careful of his morals. He cannot speak French or lead a cotillon, but he can give you in the purest and sweetest English the story of the struggle of man for liberty in every age, and is familiar with the solid literature of the world. He has the outwardness of a man who is big of mind as well as of body. There is the ruggedness of truth in all his ways. He lives simply and sometimes frugally, not because he cares for money or because he does not know that there are other and more extravagant ways of living, but because his tastes are simple. The very simplicity of his life and speech is a corollary of his native dignity. His quaint points are the quaintnesses of his country. Like Lincoln, his peculiarities are the signs of his pure and undiluted Americanism. Nothing can be more graceful than his unaffected, sincere home life. It may be true that many of the present elements of social life in the White House would be modified if Mr. Bryan

should be elected President, but he would bring to that place the glory of a manhood that it has not known for many years. He will attract to the White House scholars, statesmen and philosophers, rather than money changers or political harlots. And the humblest man in the nation would have access to the President.

I have met almost every great man of my own time in the principal countries of the world, but I have never met a greater man than Mr. Bryan. As a rule, one finds the idealist a man of frail body, physically incapable of making a continuous struggle. But here is an incorruptible idealist with the physical strength of an ox. Nowhere in the world is there to be found a more perfect combination of mind, spirit and body. The three are evenly balanced in the Democratic leader—mental energy controlled by intelligence, imagination inspired by philanthropy, virility disciplined by virtue. He seems to grow broader and deeper every year. His religious convictions are vital to him, but he avoids religious discussions. He seems to feel that religion is a private thing between a man and his God. ‘We are all trying to cast out devils,’ he says, ‘and each man works in his own way.’

Four years ago Mr. Bryan was a Western man. To-day he is national—almost international. Then he was an agitator; now he is a statesman. His life and conduct are based on what he believes to be the truth, and nothing can induce him to abandon a cause if he believes it to be righteous.

‘And yet,’ he said only a week ago, ‘I would be a fool if I did not rejoice in the triumph of right rather than in the triumph of what I believe to be right.’

CHAPTER XXVII

The Life and Public Services of Adlai Ewing Stevenson

Democratic Candidate for Vice President Nominated
July 6, 1900

WITH great enthusiasm the Democratic Convention, assembled at Kansas City, Mo., and nominated for its candidate for Vice President, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, the distinguished statesman from the State of Illinois. In the early days of the convention his name was prominently mentioned as a possible candidate, although it was not until a few hours before the convention met that it crystallized into shape. He represents the more conservative branch of the Democratic Party, and has already served one term as Vice President, which was during Cleveland's second administration. It is the first instance in American history where a Vice President has served a term and been out of office four years, and been renominated to the place, as Grover Cleveland's second term was the first instance under similar circumstances for the Presidency.

Mr. Stevenson is a native American, his birthplace being Christian County, Kentucky, where he was born October 23, 1835. He received his early education in the common school of that state, and in 1852, when he was 17 years of age, his father removed to Bloomington, Ill., which became his permanent residence. He decided to take up the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1858, to practice. He was successful from the very first and gained great popularity in his own county, where he was appointed Master in Chancery. He served as State Prosecuting Attorney from 1864 to 1868. At the close of his term of office he formed a successful law partnership with James S. Ewing of Bloomington,

Illinois. He and the new firm soon acquired a large and lucrative law practice. He had served with such conspicuous ability as prosecuting attorney that he attracted the favorable attention of the public, and in 1864 was nominated as a presidential elector for the Democratic party, of which General McClellan was the candidate for the presidency. He entered actively upon the canvass, and spoke in almost every county in his state. With only a few years' residence in Bloomington, his party placed him in nomination for Congress in 1874. Although the district has been Republican by about 2,000 majority, he carried the nomination, receiving 1285 more votes than his Republican opponent. He was in Congress during the Tilden-Hayes contest, and took an active part in the proceedings. He was renominated in 1876, but after a hot contest, in which the party lines were closely drawn, he was defeated by about 250 plurality. That his popularity had not waned nor his interest lessened in political questions was indicated by the fact that in 1878 he was again elected to Congress, being able to carry every county in his district by a handsome majority. In 1880 there was a presidential contest, and being again a candidate for Congress, he was beaten by a small majority. The legislature of the state re-districted it in such a way that Mr. Stevenson's home came in a district which was strongly Republican. However, his party placed him in nomination again in 1882, and as a result of the race for Congress he came within 350 votes of carrying his district, which had given Garfield a majority of 2,700. He was not again a candidate for Congress, but continued to be interested in the politics of his state and nation. In 1884 Mr. Stevenson served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland to the presidency. Mr. Vilas, who was Cleveland's postmaster-general, had been a close personal friend of Mr. Stevenson, and when he assumed the portfolio of the post-office he asked Mr. Stevenson to become his first assistant, which he accepted. In this capacity he had control of the appointment of more than 44,000 third-class postmasters. He believed that under Democratic administration, if the applicants for office were in every respect

equal to those Republicans already in office it was right and proper for him to remove the Republican postmasters and appoint reputable and efficient Democrats in their places. In consequence there were many removals of Republicans and appointments of Democrats soon after Mr. Stevenson accepted the office of first assistant postmaster-general, and "Adlai's ax" became a by-word in the early part of Cleveland's administration. President Cleveland named him to be judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, but he was not confirmed by the Republican Senate.

A MAN OF EXPERIENCE IN AFFAIRS OF STATE

Mr. Stevenson's career extends over a period which covers much of the interesting history of the country. It was in 1858 that Douglas and Lincoln, the giants of those days, were conducting their memorable contest in every part and corner of Illinois for the United States senatorship, for which the Democratic and Republican conventions had nominated them, that Stevenson, a young man of twenty-three, took his first lessons in politics. Mr. Stevenson met Mr. Douglas during that campaign one night in Bloomington, where Lincoln and Douglas had held a joint debate. This meeting resulted in a lasting friendship between the young lawyer and the great senator. Although a very young man, Mr. Stevenson spoke several times during that campaign, and it is said that he has appeared ever since in every contest waged between the Democratic and Republican parties. He has been a loyal Democrat and canvassed his state for every Democratic candidate on the state ticket since he began in 1858, and at the same time he has appeared for every Democratic candidate upon the national ticket. These names include Douglas, McClellan, Seymour, Greeley, Tilden, Hancock and Cleveland. It is interesting to note that it was on June 30, 1884, that Adlai E. Stevenson first saw Grover Cleveland, the man with whom he was to be associated on the national ticket. When the Committee on Notification waited upon Mr. Cleveland at Albany, on Capitol Hill, Stevenson was there, and for the first time met the distinguished Democratic leader. Mr. Cleveland

became as thoroughly interested in the distinguished Illinois lawyer, now mature and ripe from experience, as did Senator Douglas in the young man of 1858.

HIS PERSONALITY

Mr. Stevenson is a man who will attract attention in any company of gentlemen. He is six feet two inches in height, broad shouldered and straight as an arrow. He looks like a statesman of the old school. He is as vigorous as a man of fifty, although sixty-five summers have passed over his head. He is an example to all young men in his personal habits. He is clean of speech, does not gamble in any way. He is not much on style. He dresses neatly but not gaudily. He is a genuine American, unspoiled by modern ways of commercialism. He is accessible to all callers, and during his term of service as Vice President his life was marked with unostentation and simplicity. He speaks with frankness upon all questions, and his firm-set face denotes resolution, which one will also see in the vigorous shake of the hand which he gives. The blue blood, which is in his veins, he gets from his lineage through a distinguished line of ancestors, for his father was a staunch Presbyterian of Covenanter stock, giving him his name Adlai from the Bible, which means "just." Like the distinguished man, Mr. Bryan, with whom he is associated, Mr. Stevenson is also a Presbyterian. Mr. Stevenson was married in 1866 to a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Lewis Green, President of Centre College, where Mr. Stevenson spent a short time in completing his education. It is said that the reverence and love which he, while a young man, showed in the care of his mother secured for him the love of the fair Kentucky girl who afterwards became his wife. She said that any one who made such a good son would certainly make a good husband. This has proved true, and his home life is clean and pure and happy. He has four children, one son and three daughters, all of whom are grown and living. While not wealthy in the ordinary sense of the word, Mr. Stevenson is in comfortable circumstances, his fortune being estimated at about \$50,000.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Democratic Party Convention

Held at Kansas City, Mo., July 4, 1900

Meets on the Great National Holiday—A Fitting Time to Celebrate Jeffersonian Principles—Kansas City Receives the Convention Royally—William J. Bryan's Name Arouses Intense Enthusiasm—Candidates for Second Place in Evidence—The Party Platform Enunciates the Issues

THERE is no doubt that the Democratic National Convention was called to assemble on the nation's birthday with the idea that the coming presidential contest must be fought out on the issue of imperialism, or, in other words, whether this fair land of ours is to be a republic or an empire, and to be ruled on the basis of equality or of privileged classes. Everywhere the convention city was thronged with marching bands, there was heard the crack and boom of fire-crackers and miniature cannon, all of which gave to the proceedings of the convention the character of a monster Fourth of July celebration, rather than the usual quadrennial gathering of the delegates of a great political party. Indeed, the intention of the National Committee that this should partake of the nature of a national celebration was in every way a success. The Kansas City convention will go down in political history as the greatest in the annals of the Democratic party. Contrary to the report generally circulated by the inimical portion of the press, it was not a cut and dried affair, where the delegates were only expected to bring smiling faces and willing hurrahs, but a gathering of intelligent, independent men, welded into most surprising unity by love and loyalty to an honored and trusted leader, and unwavering faith in the principles advocated by the party.

At high noon, July 4, 1900, United States Senator, James K. Jones, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, stood before the great convention, his tall and dignified figure commanding immediate attention, and bringing a hush upon the vast multitude which thronged the building at every point. He rapped for order, and introduced Mayor Reed, who, in a well prepared speech, welcomed the delegates to the convention city.

The call for the convention was read by Secretary Walsh, but the delegates were so overcome with enthusiasm for the day and hour that in the buzz of conversation and the frequent peals of applause the secretary's voice was scarcely heard. Some one has even said that the effect would have been the same had the secretary stood on the top of Pike's Peak and read his call. However, an appearance of order was obtained while the Rev. W. S. Neel, of Kansas City, invoked the Divine blessing upon the meeting.

Governor Thomas, of Colorado, was introduced as temporary chairman, and for half an hour addressed the convention in a well prepared speech suitable for the aims and objects of this convention.

A GREAT DEMONSTRATION

At the close of Governor Thomas' address, a delegate from Colorado, Mr. Dan Campau, made his way to the platform and presented a motion, which he asked should be put at once. It was that the Declaration of Independence should be read. His motion was as follows :

"The Republican party recently in Philadelphia, the cradle city of Liberty, where the Declaration of Independence was written and the Constitution was formed, did there endorse an Administration which has repudiated the Constitution, and renominated a President which has betrayed the principles of the Declaration.

This convention is composed of men who have the same faith as was in their fathers in this immortal instrument. As a reaffirmation of Democratic fealty to the fundamental principles of American liberty, I move, Mr. Chairman, that the clerk be directed to read the glorious Declaration of Independence, drafted by that Democrat of all Democrats, Thomas Jefferson, and adopted one hundred and twenty-four years ago to-day."

The motion was carried amid great applause and the playing of the band, which fairly shook the building with the rush of national airs. However, before the Declaration was read, there was carried upon the platform an object enveloped completely in the stars and stripes. A hush seemed to fall upon the vast assembly, and everyone leaned forward to see what was about to happen. There was absolute silence as the covered object was set upon a pedestal upon the platform. When the flag was removed which draped it, there was disclosed a bust of William Jennings Bryan of heroic size, which had been executed by Richard Parks George, a son of the distinguished Henry George. As the bust stood revealed and the audience saw the carved features of the man who more than any other living being controls and leads the party whose beginning was marked by the opening of the century and whose founder was Thomas Jefferson, cheers burst forth spontaneously and uproariously. Many were impressed by this incident and the significance which it seemed to have. It was more than five minutes before the audience became quiet, and then only from physical exhaustion. It was a relief to have Charles S. Hampton, of Pelosky, Michigan, take the platform and read, in a magnificent voice, the Declaration of Independence. The audience gave respectful hearing to the reading, and as the full and rounded sentences of the state paper which is so familiar to the English-speaking races were read, the cheering and enthusiasm seemed to sweep in great swelling rolls which ended in a wild piercing huzza as the reading was finished.

AN INTERESTING EVENT

It was certainly a very unexpected and interesting event when Miss Fultoni, a lady of commanding appearance, mounted the platform, and, in her rich, full soprano voice, led in the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner." The audience again rose to its feet, and, with the waving of flags, fans and handkerchiefs, gave forth cheers which could be heard for many blocks away. It was indeed an innovation for a national convention, and as the singer finished, the

vast concourse of people joined in the ringing words of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," singing all the stanzas. It was only after after this outburst of song that the chairman was able to secure the attention of the convention to the calling of the roll of states for names of the members for the various committees. As the names of popular favorites were called, the roll-call was interrupted by loud applause. It became evident early in the meeting of the convention that it was going to have its own way and be a most difficult body to govern or control. This was evident at the end of the roll-call, when a motion was made to invite Mr. Bryan to attend the convention. Amidst the uproar which followed this motion, the chairman recognized a delegate near him, who made a motion that the convention take a recess until four o'clock, which motion was declared carried, and although it took some time for the crowd to recognize the fact, yet the hall in a short time was empty, and the celebration was renewed outside. At four o'clock, when the convention was called to order, it was evident that the celebration of the day would not allow much serious business during the afternoon, for the Committee on Credentials announced that it was unable to report at that time, and a further recess was taken until evening.

EVENING SESSION

The expectation that the old motto, "Better the day, better the deed," would find its realization in the nomination of William Jennings Bryan for President on this the anniversary of American independence, brought, if possible, a still larger crowd to the convention hall at eight o'clock in the evening; but the audience was doomed to disappointment, for there was much preliminary business which had to be accomplished before the candidate could be named. The speeches of the temporary and permanent chairmen were to be heard; the reports of the important committees on credentials and platform were to be read. It was physically impossible that all this should be done on one hot day, probably the hottest of the year, even though it were on an anniversary day. There certainly must have been 25,000 people in the convention hall, rising tier upon tier,

like the spectators in some vast coliseum awaiting the appearance of the actors in a great drama.

CONVENTION HALL

It will not be out of place here to mention that this great convention hall, although not so complete nor so handsome as the one used by the Republicans in Philadelphia, was in every respect well adapted to accommodating the large body of people who assembled in it, and certainly reflected great credit upon the people of Kansas City, especially when it is remembered that it was built within a period of three months on the ruins of the permanent building, which it replaced. The hall is oval in shape, with two tiers of galleries, the lower being suspended from the upper, which extends around the four sides of the hall, and rests upon steel girders that have supports from the steel arches that carry the roof. The upper gallery is about one hundred feet deep, and only a small portion is used for seating purposes. By arranging the seats in tiers, the benches for spectators furnish a full sight of the stage. Both galleries were packed with spectators, a large proportion being ladies, whose beautiful costumes added beauty and completeness to the decorations. Flags and bunting were in evidence as the background of the decorations, and were tastefully arranged, extending across the hall from one side to the other. There was abundance of light, and no obstruction to the entrance of all the wind that could be obtained. Large American flags hung from the steel girders nearly a hundred feet above the floor, and as they waved back and forth, the effect was very striking.

At 8.30 Chairman Thomas rapped for order, and the evening session began. It was announced that the committees were not ready to report, and that Ex-Governor John P. Altgeld, of Illinois, would address the meeting. He made a strong appeal for consistency on the silver question, and affirmed that the convention had met for a higher purpose than to name a man for the Presidency, and that purpose was to declare itself for a principle. At

this time, as well as at other periods in the day's session, Ex-Governor Hill seemed to be a popular favorite, and the mention of his name, or his appearance, called forth unbounded enthusiasm and great applause. He seemed indeed to be the popular favorite. Although his name was called at the close of Governor Altgeld's speech, the chairman endeavored to keep the convention in order, and soon recognized the chairman of the Committee on Credentials, whose report was received and adopted. The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the name of Representative James D. Richardson, of Tennessee, for permanent chairman, which met the favor of the convention, and Mr. Richardson was conducted to the chair. His speech in accepting the honor was, as expected, a strong one, and spoken in a voice that seemed to fill the vast spaces of the hall. It was arranged under sixteen separate heads, setting forth the principles of the Democratic party as compared with those advanced by their opponents, the Republicans. Mr. Richardson, in concluding his speech, eulogized the popular favorite, William Jennings Bryan, the mention of whose name started the most tumultuous scene of the day. Delegates sprang upon their chairs, and waved their hats, handkerchiefs and umbrellas in the wildest manner. The standards bearing the names of the states, which marked the seats of the delegates, were torn loose and borne aloft in procession toward the speaker's stand. Delegates and spectators appeared to be surcharged with enthusiasm. The crowds in the galleries enjoyed the scene and added to the cheers and waving of handkerchiefs and parasols. This demonstration lasted for nearly one half-hour, and again only subsided because of complete exhaustion. It was evident that further business, on account of the lateness of the hour, could not be presented, and the convention adjourned for the first day until 10.30 A.M., July 5th.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

The interest in the proceedings of the convention had in no wise abated when the time for opening the doors arrived on Thursday morning, July 5. The hall was soon packed, as on the previous

day. Indeed, although the most careful arrangements had been made previously to accommodate and control the immense throng who desired to attend, yet the execution of the plans appeared inadequate, and the crowd soon possessed seats which had been reserved for delegates and the press, but every one, with few exceptions, took in the situation philosophically and there was much less confusion than would have been expected. It was eleven o'clock when Chairman Richardson took his place on the platform and had the session opened with prayer. It was soon evident that the Committee on Resolutions was not ready to report. This gave the opportunity for the convention to hear some of the most distinguished men of the party. Ringing addresses on the great questions of the day and hour were delivered by Governor Hogg, Ex-Congressman Dockery, of Missouri, Governor Beckham, of Kentucky, Congressman Williams, of Indiana, and Mayor Rose, of Milwaukee. Governor Beckham, so prominent on account of the recent troubles in Kentucky, was a notable figure, and received enthusiastic greeting by the delegates. As there was no business before the convention, adjournment was taken until three o'clock in the afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

It is almost impossible to describe the scene on the afternoon which witnessed the adoption of the platform and the nomination of the Democratic leader. In fact, the scene far exceeded that of the famous Chicago convention. It was one both impressive and brilliant. Nearly 20,000 people in that vast auditorium seemed each to be provided with the stars and stripes, and with lung power sufficient to make twice the noise usually expected from one individual. At four o'clock the Committee on Resolutions, headed by the Hon. J. K. Jones, appeared on the platform with the manuscript of the document which was to contain the rallying cry for the great campaign of 1900. Evidently great care had been taken in putting the platform into shape, so that there could possibly be no error grafted into it and that it should be presented to the convention complete in every particular.

The Kansas City Convention will become historical in that it had to decide once for all the supremacy of the two strong elements in the Democratic party, represented by the conservatives of the East, who feared an out and out statement of free coinage of silver, sixteen to one, and preferred rather to leave this issue entirely in the background, and the more radical element represented by the West, who favored an outspoken declaration for the free coinage of silver, sixteen to one. All were agreed on other important issues. The Committee on Resolutions had been in session for many hours, occupying almost all the night previous, and vain efforts had been made to find a middle line on which all could join. Indeed it was feared for some time that there would be a majority and minority report on the silver question. This was prevented only by the foresight and party loyalty of Richard Croker, the Tammany chief of New York, and others of his followers, who insisted that the majority should rule and the report should be unanimous. In the committee on the adoption of the sixteen to one clause, twenty-six were in favor of retaining it and twenty-four opposed. The votes of the states stood as follows :

VOTES FOR AND AGAINST

Those who voted for: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Carolina, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wyoming, Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Hawaii—26.

Those who voted against it represented the following: California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, South Dakota, Virginia, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Mississippi, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin and Alaska—24.

From this it will be seen that Hawaii's vote may be taken to have decided one of the great issues of the campaign. The platform makes prominent the subject of imperialism, which is introduced as the first topic. This is followed by the discussion of

expansion and trusts. The platform denounces the Republican colonial policy, a large standing army, private monopolies, the gold standard, currency law, and any and all alliances with foreign powers. On the other hand it favors free coinage of silver at sixteen to one, the extension of the Inter-State Commerce Law, popular election of Senators, direct legislation wherever possible, and territorial government for Porto Rico.

READING OF THE PLATFORM

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, was introduced as the one who would read the platform. This seemed to please the audience, as they were confident that they would hear and understand what he had to say. They were not disappointed, for he was heard to the uttermost parts of the hall ; and, unlike most efforts of the kind, the reader introduced into his work a spirit of enthusiasm and the impression that he himself believed what he said, all of which took with the spectators, who broke forth in repeated applause. If it had been one of his own speeches before the United States Senate, he could not have delivered it with greater effect than he did the reading of this important document. The reading of the platform created great enthusiasm, and it was adopted unanimously by the delegates.

A NEW CONVERT TO DEMOCRACY

It was a dramatic incident indeed, when, without warning, the chairman introduced Webster Davis, recently Assistant Secretary of the Interior to President McKinley. He made a speech renouncing his connection with the Republican party, and declaring that he was a convert to the principles of democracy.

THE CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

According to custom the states were called alphabetically for nomination. Alabama being the first on the list yielded her place to Nebraska, whose representative, Hon. W. D. Oldham, took the platform and began to speak. It was difficult for any one to hear him on account of the enthusiasm displayed by the delegates and

spectators, and at its conclusion pandemonium seemed to reign. Another scene of a rush of standard bearers began. Nebraska's banner carried a colossal portrait of her favorite son, William Jennings Bryan, and led the procession toward the platform. Texas held aloft a huge banner surmounted by a pair of steer's horns and by an antelope's head. Another banner had on it the words, "Lincoln abolished slavery; McKinley revived it." Around and around the big amphitheatre the procession moved and the voices thundered, until finally, after more than half an hour of confusion and noise, the presiding officer succeeded in securing an appearance of order, while the seconding speeches were made. Among these the most interesting were those of Ex-Senator David B. Hill, of New York; E. B. Perkins, of Texas, Senator White, of California, and John H. Wise, of Hawaii. At the final call of the roll, it appeared that William Jennings Bryan was the unanimous choice of the convention, and amidst another outburst of applause the chairman declared:

"William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, the candidate of the Democratic party for President of the United States from March 4, 1900," after which the convention adjourned for the day.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION

The interest in the convention showed no abatement even at the third day's meeting. The platform had already been adopted and the candidate for the first place on the ticket had been nominated; still great interest centered upon the nomination of the man who was to carry the honors of the second place. There were many favorites in the field, each represented by enthusiastic admirers. Ex-Senator David B. Hill, of New York, was by far in the lead, and for a while it appeared that the experience at the Republican convention in Philadelphia, in the case of Roosevelt, would be repeated and Senator Hill would be nominated whether he wished it or not.

Chairman Richardson called the convention to order at 10.45 A.M. and the convention was opened, as usual, with prayer. The business

of the day was immediately entered upon by the calling of the roll of states for nominations for the Vice Presidency. Alabama and Arkansas yielded their places to Illinois for a speech from Representative Williams of that state, who placed in nomination Adlai E. Stevenson. In a short but eloquent address he named Illinois' favorite son as her choice for the Vice Presidency. His speech was received with great and prolonged applause. Connecticut yielded her place to Minnesota, whose delegate, L. A. Roesing, in fine voice, and in words which could be heard by the convention, named Charles A. Towne as a man who embodied the best characteristics of American manhood. There was also great enthusiasm at the mention of Mr. Towne's name, by which it was quite evident that he had a vast host of admirers who would be delighted to have him receive the nomination. The state of Delaware yielded its place to New York, and Senator Grady of that state ascended the platform to address the convention. No sooner had he uttered the words "In behalf of the Democracy of New York I present to this convention for nomination for the Vice Presidency the name of David Bennet Hill," than there was another scene, equal in enthusiasm almost to any which had preceded during the sessions of the convention. The states' standards were held aloft, flags fluttered, and handkerchiefs waved. There can possibly be no doubt that Mr. Hill was the favorite of the convention, but it was evident that he was not willing to accept. He finally obtained the ear of the audience, and showed by his manner and words his high appreciation of the honor which was proffered to him, but at the same time said, in a manner which could not be mistaken, that for personal reasons he could not accept the nomination, and asked that in justice to himself, in justice to the convention, in justice to the party, in justice to all sense of fairness, they should not give him the nomination. Other nominees for the position were Governor John Walter Smith, of Maryland, whose name was presented to the convention by Mr. A. L. Knott, the delegate from Maryland. James Hamilton Lewis, of the State of Washington, was put in nomination by delegate W. H. Dumphy of that state. The name of

General Julian S. Carr, of North Carolina, was presented by delegate Gates, of that state, and A. W. Patrick, of Ohio, was presented by M. A. Dougherty.

After the seconding speeches had been made, the roll of states was called, and the chairman of each state announced the vote of his delegation. Great interest centered in the roll call as one delegation after the other began to split their votes, until Iowa, Kansas and Kentucky gave their votes solidly for Stevenson, indicating that he was the coming man. At the close of the vote Tennessee was the first to change from Hill to Stevenson. Other states followed in quick succession, until Senator Tillman made a motion that the nomination of Stevenson be made unanimous, which was carried with a great shout. The vote on the first ballot stood as follows :

Stevenson	559½
Hill	200
Towne	89½
Patrick	46
Carr	23
Smith	16

The business of the convention was then at an end, and after passing the usual votes of thanks, and the nomination of committees, the convention adjourned.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The following are members of the new National Committee :

Alabama, H. D. Clayton.	Iowa, Charles A. Walsh.
Arkansas, James P. Clarke.	Indiana, Thomas F. Taggart.
California, M. F. Tarpey.	Kansas, J. G. Johnson.
Colorado, Adair Wilson.	Kentucky, Urey Woodson.
Connecticut, Homer S. Cumings.	Louisiana, N. C. Blanchard.
Delaware, R. R. Kenney.	Maine, Arthur Sewall.
Florida, George P. Raney.	Maryland, A. P. Gorman.
Georgia, Clark Howell.	Massachusetts, Geo. Fred. Williams.
Idaho, E. N. Wolfe.	Michigan, D. J. Campau.
Illinois, Thomas Gahan.	Minnesota, Thomas D. O'Brien.

Mississippi, A. J. Russell.	Tennessee, J. M. Head.
Missouri, W. J. Stone.	Texas, R. M. Johnson.
Montana, John S. McNeill.	Utah, R. C. Dunbar.
Nebraska, James C. Dahlman.	Vermont, J. H. Sutor.
Nevada, Joseph R. Ryan.	Virginia, Peter J. Otey.
New Hampshire, True L. Norris.	Washington, Wm. H. Dunphy.
New Jersey, Wm. B. Gourley.	West Virginia, John T. McGraw.
New York, Norman E. Mack.	Wisconsin, Timothy E. Ryan.
North Carolina, Josephus Daniels.	Wyoming, John E. Osborne.
North Dakota, J. G. Eaton.	Alaska, Louis L. Williams.
Ohio, John R. McLean.	Arizona, John B. Breathitt.
Oregon, not elected.	Indian Territory, Thomas Marcum
Pennsylvania, J. M. Guffey.	New Mexico, H. B. Ferguson.
Rhode Island, George W. Green.	Oklahoma, James L. Norris.
South Carolina, Benjamin R. Tillman.	District of Columbia, Contest.
South Dakota, Maris Taylor.	Hawaii, W. H. Cornwell.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR CHARLES H. THOMAS, OF COLORADO.

Temporary Chairman of the Convention

Governor Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, the temporary chairman of the Democratic convention, outlined the issues of the campaign in a ringing speech as follows :

DELEGATES OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE

We meet under most auspicious influences. On the nation's birthday, in a great central city of the republic, at the close and opening of a century, we come together to reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of Thomas Jefferson and our loyalty to their greatest living exponent. We have been selected by the farmer and the artisan, the miner and the mechanic, the producers of wealth in every state and territory of this mighty nation, to register a decree they have already determined, to proclaim a candidate they have already chosen. We come not with the pomp and circumstances of consolidated wealth, but as the delegates of the plain people, who believe that all men were created equal, and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The line of division between political forces became sharply defined in 1896 upon what was called the money question. That question involved, as we then asserted and as we now know, every other economic problem. It embraced within its wide limitations the issue of labor and capital, of combination and competition, of production, transportation and distribution. It was predicted that the defeat of bimetallism would be followed by the retirement of

all forms of government currency, by the dedication of the power of note issue to the holders of the national obligation, the practical consolidation of all lines of transportation and the consequent domination of every commercial pursuit by a score of colossal monopolies. These predictions have in general been verified.

THE RUSH OF INDUSTRIES TO COMBINE.

The Democratic defeat had scarcely been recorded when the march of consolidation was resumed. Every pursuit that engages the attention of man has been exploited, capitalized and appropriated. The earth and the waters round about it have been explored for subjects of monopoly, and those who have thundered against unsound money have used the printing press and the engraver's art to turn out thousands of millions of fictitious values, to whose profit the toilers and consumers pay constant tribute. Every avenue closed to the competitive energies of the citizen has been listed on the Stock Exchange and rises and falls with the turn of the gambler's card. Consolidations succeed consolidations, and as they lessen in number, they enlarge in the volume of their real and fictitious accumulations, and their more despotic sway over all material and political interests. These evils, startling in their magnitude and inevitable in their consequences, must either culminate in one immense aggregation, all powerful and all-absorbing, to be arrested and dissolved by the force of an aroused public opinion finding expression at the polls in support of the nominees of this convention.

The party in power carried the last election by and through the support of the influences we now criticise. Having purchased the right to pursue their various objects, the government has been at all times their powerful ally. Hence the onward march of organized wealth to absolute power and the exaltation of the dollar above the rights and the welfare of the multitude. Hence the crisis in our commercial affairs, whose issue presented in acute form to the voters of 1900, is that of industrial despotism as against the liberty of the citizen.

COMBINATIONS WITHOUT CONSCIENCE.

Democracy wages no war against wealth. Under her beneficent rule its creation and amassment have ever been among the most worthy objects of human effort. The desire for material comfort and well-being is the mainspring of progress. The wealth that comes as the reward of honest industry and thrift commands and must receive the encouragement and protection to all. Free institutions must languish without communism of wealth. Official integrity cannot survive its temptations. Against its continued prevalence the conscience of the nation must be quickened and aroused if its baleful influences are to be destroyed. Modern monopoly is the offspring of the Republican

party. It is the genius of organized commercialism. It has neither conscience, sentiment nor patriotism. It knows neither justice nor morality. Its inspiration is greed and its purpose accumulation. Corruption is its necessary instrument. No public service is too high, none too low to escape its influences. Its hand is on the throat and pocket of every human being in the nation. It sneers at the rights of man, and defies the sovereignty of states. It regulates wages, and the prices of life's necessities. It divides the territory of the union into commercial provinces, punishes integrity and rewards the unscrupulous. It gives or refuses employment at its pleasure. It blacklists the working man and sets him adrift to starve in the midst of plenty. It marches its battalions of employes to the polls, places its chosen ballot in their hands, and coerces their support for its favorite instrument. It is enthroned in the councils of the nation and the states, sits upon the bench and makes and expounds the law. It gives millions to its political protector to debauch the consciences of freemen and receives ten-fold return through the legislation that it dictates. It is marching to despotism under the canopy of the republic. It is the enemy of democracy, which has accepted its gage of battle. Either the trust or the government must disappear.

At the demand of the so-called financial interest, the present Congress has enacted a new currency law. By its terms the government has presented to the national banks \$25,000,000, given them control of our circulation, provided for the payment in cash of the premium values of the greater part of its bonds and created a perpetual national debt. It has declared for the payment of all obligations in gold, stricken from its contracts the reserved right of the government to use its own money for the payment of debts and delegated to private interests the power to supplement all deficiencies in the circulating medium by the paper money, whose volume they shall regulate and which the people are taxed to support. The greenback and the treasury note are retired, an inert mass of \$150,000,000 in gold, is to be kept in the treasury by the issue of bonds whenever necessary, the currency must shrink and swell as the judgment of selfishness shall dictate, and the pretended menace of bimetallism against "sound money and the national honor" has been evaded.

This law, commended by the money changer and the holder of idle capital, seeking investment where taxation can be avoided, is the culmination of a series of enactments beginning with the measure of 1869 to strengthen the public credit, by which the financial affairs of the union have been placed wholly within the control of a select few, and the burden of doubt is constantly increased by the sacrifice of property values. It is the logical sequence of that sinister influence which has from time to time introduced changes in the public obligation whereby every covenant in the public interest has disappeared. It

contains within itself a Pandora's box of evils which time will surely open. Those who now applaud will live to curse it; its beneficiaries will repudiate it when the wrath of an outraged people shall be aroused by the experiences of its operation. The skies are smiling now and the hills are green, but the storm cloud already gathers over those who have bartered the dearest interests of the people to the organized greed of a power whose avarice can not be satiated with the universe.

Against this iniquitous scheme of finance, Democracy protests. We will have no money system founded upon the public debt and dictated by those who hold it. We stand for the gold and silver of the Constitution. For a paper currency founded upon them and issued by the government as the embodiment of our sovereignty. We would not tax the people for the maintenance of a private money system. We would pay and not perpetuate our public debt. We will dig our metals from the hills and open our mints to their coinage. We will pay no tribute to Cæsar for that which is our own. We will scourge the money changers from the temple of our treasury and reconsecrate it to the service and welfare of the common people.

Those who assert that the money question is dead have given but little heed to the lessons of experience. It can never die until it shall receive the righteous solution. If it be true that our monetary circulation is the life blood of our commercial system, it must follow that upon its wholesome quantity depends our continued welfare. Nostrums administered in time of stress may postpone, but can not defeat the demand for complete and thorough renovation of a vicious and destructive policy. The Democratic party will accept nothing short of this. No substitute for the bimetallic principle upon which substantial and enduring prosperity must depend. Through all vicissitudes of political fortune, the needle of its compass points to that as the magnetic star of sound national policy.

The phenomenal increase in the annual output of gold has materially added to the general stock of primary money, and relieves some part of the stress of contraction which succeeded the closure of Indian mints to silver in 1894. The consequent improvement in business and industrial conditions may be traced directly to this fact, although the failure of crops in various portions of the world, and the waging of a great offensive war with its accompanying expenditure of treasure, have contributed to the general result. The enlargement of the sum of our metallic money has cheapened its value, stimulated prices and set the wheels of enterprise in motion.

PANICS COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED

No more signal demonstration of the bimetallist contention was ever witnessed. Had the concurrent coinage and circulation of the two metals been

uninterrupted, they would have kept the quantity of our money of redemption in harmony with our national growth, and our development apace with the increase of wealth and population. The terrible crises of the past quarter of a century with their attendant miseries and bankruptcy would have been avoided, and prosperity would have remained with us, unbroken and enduring. The false plea of 1896, that the monetary volume was sufficient, and the world supply of gold ample for its needs, is now transparent. Its error is admitted in the boast of our opponents that they have increased our per capita circulation. The vast quantities yielded by the mines are readily absorbed by the ceaseless demand for its use, and its multiplied increase is earnestly hoped for. No voice is raised against its continued production. No fear is expressed that we can be embarrassed by its abundance, yet its annual output exceeds that of gold and silver in the years when the latter was repudiated because of its threatened inundation. Our opponents stand confounded by the irresistible operation of a law they have denied. Industry breathes with more content because there is more money for her purposes, and her votaries in the presence of its operation unite with democracy in proclaiming the great truth that civilization gains and humanity advances with every addition to the world's stock of gold and silver, that each is the handmaid of the other, and not essential to the constant and harmonious progress and development of the world.

If the enormous gold yield of the past five years were indefinitely prolonged and the areas of the gold standard were not extended, the needs of bimetallism would be relatively inconsequential. But the production of gold and silver oscillates, one or the other always preponderating. The pendulum will again swing to the other extreme. Bimetallism knowing this, knows also that the crisis returns if man shall reject the offering nature presents for our continued prosperity. Looking backward over the past and forward to the coming years, we ask this great nation to provide against recurrence of disaster by adhering to the system of finance which the fathers crystallized in the constitution, and base its future policy on that secure foundation.

THE STATUS OF OUR NEW POSSESSIONS

The prevailing sentiment of Democratic sympathy for all people struggling for the blessings of liberty compelled the Administration two years ago to interfere with the despotic tyranny of Spain over Cuba and secured to the oppressed people of that island the right of self-government. Our ultimatum delivered, we solemnly and officially declared them to be free and independent, and disclaimed to the world any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control of the island, except for the pacification thereof and asserted our determination when that was accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The conditions of the ensuing war sent Admiral Dewey to the distant Philippines, where another people engaged in the same struggle with the same oppressor appealed to the same impulses of our nature. There he broke the power of Spain, which, suing for peace, submitted to the liberation of Cuba and the cession of Porto Rico. Our government disdained the spirit of its manifesto of April, and became the purchaser of the Philippines in January. Since then we have given Cuba the benefit of our civic institutions by governing her through the War Department. We have kept faith with Porto Rico by substituting the sugar baron for the Castilian duke and confirmed the Philippine estimate of the white man by prolonging the Spaniards' method of colonial government in those islands of the far off seas. The national sympathy for all who seek self-government has been made the instrument by which cupidity and greed hold a feeble nation in thraldom.

MUST NOT EMULATE MONARCHY

We will emulate monarchy neither in conquest nor in government. We would perpetuate the Monroe doctrine and realize, with Jefferson, that its first and fundamental maxim is never to entangle ourselves in the broils of the old world. We need not despoil the helpless that we may trade with them. We realize that a standing army is the attendant of imperialism. We would avoid the latter, because once avowed as a national policy, it must undermine our domestic institutions. We would avoid it because its adoption must lead to other wars and other conquests, to the shedding of innocent blood, to burdensome taxation, to a hopeless national debt, to the forcible annexation of other lands, to constant entanglements with the affairs of other nations, in short, to all the evils foreseen by the Father of his Country, and depicted in that immortal address whose earnest warnings are forgotten or disregarded by our rulers.

OPPOSITION TO SYSTEM OF COLONIES

We would have no colonial system. Its pestilent brood has already hatched in the Havana post office and has grown apace for months in distant Manila. It is the fruitful mother of oppression and maladministration. It has no place in the domain of a republic. It cannot live in the atmosphere of freedom.

We believe in that expansion which under Democratic rule brought half the continent as a galaxy of commonwealths into the Union. We denounce that expansion which by contract overcomes the people of a hemisphere under the pretext of giving them liberty, which governs them by force, which denies to them the rights of citizens, which subjects the American workmen to the competition of hordes of Orientals from the so-called American provinces to take his place at the forge, in the field and in the factory.

The stretch of thirty-three peaceful years from the close of the Rebellion to the opening of the war for Cuban independence has wrought no change in the valor and self-denial of the American soldier. Inspired by the loftiest patriotism, the highest devotion to country, he has again testified his readiness and ability to wage her battles and win her victories. On land and sea, under burning tropical suns, he is the same invincible fighter whose fathers at Yorktown, at New Orleans, at San Jacinto, and at Gettysburg established, maintained and perpetuated the republic. To them, all of them, soldier and sailor, the nation's gratitude extends. Its debts should be requited to their widows and their orphans, to those stricken by bullet and pestilence, to the helpless and the deserving. To care for the men who stand and for the loved ones of those who fall in conflict for the nation, is the most sacred of our obligations, and it shall be our constant care to enforce its just and full observance.

We would build the Nicaraguan canal as an American enterprise for the American people. We would operate it in times of peace and control it in times of war. We would fortify it notwithstanding the protests or the objections of trans-Atlantic powers. We would share the benefits and responsibilities of its management with no associates. We would concede its advantages in times of peace to other nations under terms and conditions of our own prescription, and deny to them, and to all of them, any other identification with its affairs.

LET TAXES BE LIGHTENED

We would relieve the people of the burden of taxation. If administrative authority is to be credited, the Spanish-American conflict ended eighteen months ago. The same authority assures us with every moon that the Philippine insurrection is over. The treasury is bursting with plethoric revenue, millions whereof are deposited with favorite banks, which lend it to the people on their own terms, that the volume of circulation may not suffer diminution. Notwithstanding these conditions, there is no surcease of taxation. Measures cunningly devised to fall upon the backs of the people and screen large interests from responsibility for the public burdens, willingly assumed and cheerfully borne in the heat of conflict, press with full weight in times of peace with no signs of relief from the party in power. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation, and unjust taxation by whatever name it may be called, is the plunder of the citizen by his government.

We would investigate the public expenditures and demand an accounting for the millions that have been lavished in the purchase of naval stores and war munitions, in supplies, equipment and transportation.

THE KIND OF MAN FOR POWER

We would have for our Chief Magistrate a man sprung from the loins of the people, rock-ribbed in his convictions, and controlled by the admonitions

of his conscience. A man of lofty ideas and steadfast courage. A man to whom his country's Constitution appears as a living and sacred reality. A man who exalts the duties, the rights and the welfare of his fellow-citizens above the sinister and corroding influence of centralized commercialism. A man whose ear is untuned to the pulsations of the pocketbook, but responsive to the heart throb of the masses. A man with no Warwick behind his chair, with policies that are his own. A man with strong opinions, and a strong will to enforce them. A man conscious to his country's dignity and power, of its capacity to cope with all conditions. A man who measures the greatness of the republic by the protection it gives to the humblest citizen. A man whose clear vision perceives the causes, and whose steady judgment determines the remedy for the public ills. A man who will lay a strong hand of authority upon the vast interests dominating the moral, industrial and political life of the nation, and maintain the integrity of our institutions against all their designs and encroachments. A man who recognizes no dignity greater than that of an American citizen, no right more sacred than that which secures to him the full enjoyment of every opportunity that a land like ours affords.

HAS OUTLIVED ITS MISSION

The Republican party boasts of almost unbroken rule for nearly forty years. Its mission was to defeat the extension of slavery and destroy that institution. It appeals to the moral forces of the republic, and founded its organization upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It was triumphant. There was a time when its standards were lofty and ennobling. Its only standard now is Standard oil. There was a time when its ideals shone forth like precious gems through the dust and heat of party strife. Its ideals now are the party machine and the party campaign fund. Its battle-cry years ago was, "Freedom and the Union." If due credit be given to one of its modern leaders, its motto for 1900 is "Gold and Glory." It is a far cry from the ringing tocsin of 1860 to the buckinbeer refrain of 1900, yet it well typifies the shameful transformation. If, to its alliterative attraction we add monopoly and militarism with trusts and taxation, and place the dollar mark above them on its waving banners, the world will gaze upon the composite picture of its last official declaration.

Against the continuance of this party in power, we enter protest. With the man exalted above the dollar, the Constitution above the combination, the equality of all before the law, with solemn promises to correct the abuses of administration, and to enforce those fundamentals of government which secure exact justice to all, we shall not appeal in vain to the wisdom, the intelligence and the patriotism of the American people.

William Jennings Bryan was placed in nomination by Hon. W. D. Oldham, of Nebraska. The eloquent Nebraskan lauded the statesmanship of the Democratic leader and denounced the policies of the Republicans in a speech, loudly applauded, and as follows :

NOMINATING SPEECHES

" Mr. Chairman : More than a hundred years ago the Continental Congress of America adopted a declaration which had been drafted by the founder of the Democratic party, and the joyous tones of the old Liberty Bell which greeted the act, announced to a waiting world that a nation had been born.

A HISTORY-MAKING CONVENTION

Much of the history of this Republic shall be either made or marred by the action of this convention. You, as representatives of the only party which is co-existent with the nation itself; the only party which ever had within its own ranks sufficient constructive statesmanship to create a nation in which each citizen becomes a sovereign, have, true to the traditions you bear, in your platform, set out in simple language, with a decided American accent, a plan for the people's redemption from each sacrilege and schism taught by the Republican party. The plan contains nothing but the approved precepts of the elders and doctors of your faith. If, on a platform, you place a candidate whose devoted and unblemished life shall stand as a pledge to the plain people that he, in good faith, will carry out the solemn covenants made therein, then the hour of our ultimate triumph is at hand.

There is no greater honor reserved for a citizen of these United States, than to become the standard bearer of the Democratic party. It at once enrolls his name on the scroll of the "immortals who are not born to die," and encircles him with a halo of the glory of all the illustrious achievements which the unconquered and unconquerable organization has emblazoned on every page of our nation's history. It intrusts to his keeping the fame of that long line of statesmen and patriots who have knelt for a blessing at Democracy's shrine :

' Oh, bright are the names of those heroes and sages,
That shine like stars through the dimness of ages,
Whose deeds are inscribed on the pages of story,
Forever to live in the sunlight of glory.'

This high distinction must not be unworthily bestowed. It must follow as a reward for noble actions bravely done; for unrequited, tireless toil, for sacrifices made and strength displayed; for trusts discharged and pledges kept.

We must seek a leader whose public and private life most nearly exemplifies his party's highest ideals; who stands unqualifiedly pledged to every issue

we declare; who will carry the standard we place in his hands, even as the Black Douglas carried the sacred casket that enclosed the heart of Bruce.

He must not declare for free trade with Porto Rico, and then, at the persuasive suggestion of the Sugar and Tobacco Trusts, sign a bill for a tariff on the products of that island.

He must not denounce a policy as one of "criminal aggression," and then at the demand of a power behind the throne, pursue the policy he has so denounced.

He must not, while professing opposition to combines and conspiracies against trade, send his emissaries to the trust baron castles to beg, like Lazarus, at Dives' gates, for subscriptions to his campaign. He must not lend the moral support of his administration to a monarchy in its efforts to destroy a republic. But he must ever sympathize with a people struggling for the right of self-government.

Instead of the Republican policy of monometallism, he must offer the free and unlimited coinage of the money metals of the Constitution, the gold that polished the winged sandals of Hermes, and the silver that glitters in the bow of Diana.

Instead of a panic-breeding credit currency, controlled by the bank trust, he must offer government paper controlled by the people.

EXPANSION NOT IMPERIALISM

He must be able to distinguish between Democratic expansion and Republican imperialism. The first is a natural growth by the addition of contiguous American territory, into every foot of which is carried the Constitution, the flag and the Decalogue, and over the shoulders of every inhabitant of the added territory is thrown a purple robe of sovereign citizenship. It is a growth that has added eighteen stars to the field of blue in the 'Banner of the Free,' to symbolize the states that have been carved from territory, annexed to the domain of this nation, by the wisdom and statesmanship of the Democratic party. This is an expansion that is bounded on the north by the Constitution of the United States; on the east by the Monroe Doctrine; on the south by the Declaration of Independence, and on the west by the Ten Commandments.

How different this from the bandit policy of the Republican imperialism, with its standing army, and bayonet rule of conquered provinces, its government of sullen subjects against their will, by force and fraud; its denial to them of the protection of either the Constitution or command, which says: 'Thou shalt not steal'—a policy that would send our Uncle Sam off his American range with a cowboy hat, a rope and a branding iron, to rustle and brand over all the loose islands of the Orient, while hypocritically chanting the long-metre Doxology.

Democratic skies are tinged with a rosier hue to-day than when we met in convention four years ago. Then a financial cataclysm had spread over the country, and although its every inducing cause was easily traced to the errors and follies of the Republican party, yet we were in power when it came, and were wrongfully held responsible for the wreck of shattered fortunes which followed in its wake.

Torn asunder by dissensions within and disasters without, our party faced a gloomy and foreboding future, which seemed to augur its dissolution. The problem then was to select a standard-bearer bold enough to cover the rear of a retreat, and save the party from destruction, if not from defeat.

While discord, with her flaming torch, confused the counsels from out the sunset realm, a champion came and bade defiance to the oncoming host. With the strength of youth, and the wisdom of age, with knightly mien and matchless speech, he towered above his peers, and all who saw him then with one accord did hail him 'Chief' and gave our party's banner to his hand. Slowly despair gave way to hope; confidence took the place where timorous fear had been; the broken, shattered columns formed again, and behind him, singing, came 6,500,000 valiant men to that unequal fight.

STRANGLLED THE MONSTER

Realizing that imperialism, like the fabled Artæus, was born of earth, and contended with upon the selfish worldly plane of greed and gold, was of giant strength, and if thrown down would rise again refreshed from contact with its mother element, he, like the mighty Hercules, raised it above the sordid sphere from which its strength was drawn and on a plane of lofty patriotism he strangled it. With the issues now clearly drawn, no doubt remains as to the name of our candidate. On that question we are a re-united Democracy.

Already worthy allies, differing from us rather in name than faith, have shouted for our gallant leader again, and every state and territory has instructed its delegates to this convention to vote for him here. So it only remains for Nebraska to pronounce the name that has been thundered forth from the foot of Bunker Hill, and echoed back from the Sierra's sunset slope, and that reverberates among the pine-clad, snow-capped hills of the North, and rises up from the slumbering, flower-scented savannahs of the South, and that name is the name of William Jennings Bryan, her best-loved son:

SPEECH BY DAVID B. HILL, OF NEW YORK

David B. Hill seconded the nomination of Mr. Bryan in the following words :

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: In behalf of the Democratic masses of the state of New York, for whom I assume to speak

on this occasion, I second the nomination which has been made from the state of Nebraska. (Applause and cheering.) William J. Bryan does not belong to Nebraska alone; he belongs to the North and South, to the East and to the West—he belongs to the whole country at large.

It is a nomination already made in the hearts and affections of the American people. From the closing of the polls four years ago until this very hour there never was a possibility of any other nomination being made. (Enthusiastic cheers and applause.)

He is a gentleman who needs no introduction to this audience, nor to the American people. Nebraska is proud of him, but New York is proud of him also. For four years he has upheld the banner of Democracy in almost every state in the Union. His voice has been heard not only in behalf of our principles, but in behalf of the cause of the common people, in behalf of the workingmen, in behalf of humanity.

He will not only have the support of his party—a united party—(applause, cheers and waving of flags.) He is strong, strong with the masses, strong with the farmers, strong with the artisan—stronger even than his own cause. His integrity has never been questioned during all the time that he has been under the gaze of the American people. (Cheers.) His statesmanship has been exhibited in the halls of Congress.

No others have served during such a brief period that made such an impression upon the minds and hearts and conscience of the American people. This convention, meeting here to-day in this most beautiful city, surrounded by this hospitable community, was indeed the proper place to nominate this candidate. (Applause.) The cause he represents is peculiarly the cause of the people. His election will mean honesty and integrity in public office.

It will mean the amelioration of the people; it will mean the destruction of criminal trusts and monopolies. (Applause.) It will mean economy and retrenchment in governmental affairs; it will mean the supremacy of the Constitution everywhere throughout this land wherever the flag floats. (Applause.) It will mean a return to the advocacy of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It will prove a blessing not only to those who vote for him, but to the few who vote against him.

I, as you well know, was one of those who, in good faith, doubted the wisdom of some portions of the platform, doubted certain details of our financial policy, but the wisdom of this convention has determined otherwise, and I acquiesce cheerfully in the decision. (Loud applause,) I am here to say further that the platform that has been read is worthy of the vote and approval of every man who claims to be a Democrat in this country.

Those who do not admire some portions can speak for others. If there are some issues which they do not desire to present as strongly as some others, they can at least talk about something in this platform that is worthy of their approval. At least in some portions of this country the paramount issue is going to carry, and carry strongly. (Applause.)

This is the time for unity, and not for division. I plead to-night for party harmony and for party success. I plead because of the dangers which confront us. As sure as election day comes, and if we should happen to be defeated, which I do not believe, what will follow?

It means the restoration of a federal election law. It means a reduction of the appointment of members of Congress throughout the Southern states of our Union. It means a consequent reduction in the Electoral College from our Southern states, and the plea of necessity will be made because it will be apparent by election day that some of the new-born states of the West, which they had relied upon, had gone over to the Democratic party. (Applause.)

So I assume to say that this is a most important election; important for our party; important for our country; important for the best interests of all our people. I have no time now to analyze the platform. We are speaking of men and not of measures now.

This nomination will meet the approval, based upon this platform, of the people of the East. (Cheers.) What we need is an old-fashioned, rousing Democratic victory throughout this land. That will mean a restoration of the currency of our fathers. That will mean home rule for states. That will mean popular government restored. That will mean the supremacy of equal laws throughout the country, and in this great result, which we hope to achieve, I am here to say simply in conclusion that New York expects to join with you with her thirty-six electoral votes." (Cheers.)

NOMINATING SPÉECHES FOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY

In placing in nomination for the Vice Presidency Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, Congressman Williams said:

"The united Democracy of Illinois desires to present to this convention for the next Vice President of the United States a Democrat. (Cheers.) One who drew his first breath from the pure Democratic atmosphere of old Kentucky. (Cheers.) One baptized in the great and growing Democracy of Illinois; one who has stood squarely on every Democratic platform since he became a voter; one who has twice represented in Congress a district overwhelmingly Republican; one who is not a Rough Rider, but a swift rider.

(Cheers.) Not a warrior, but a statesman. A man who stands for civil government against military rule.

STEVENSON'S OLD RECORD AS A HEADSMAN

A man who believes that a President of the United States who ignores the Constitution as the present Republican President has done, must be one who loves his own glory far more than he loves the republic. A man who believes American despotism is no better than any other despotism. A man who places human blood above human greed. A man who will not trade away the precious life of an American soldier for a nugget of gold in the Philippine Islands. (Cheers.) A man who would not give the 3,000 or 3,500 brave American soldiers whom McKinley has sacrificed in that hotbed of disease and destruction for all the islands in the seas. (Applause.) A man who, during four years of faithful administration as First Assistant Postmaster General of the United States, demonstrates that he knows a Republican when he sees him in an office that belongs to a Democrat. (Applause.) Nominate our man, and you will not have to explain any speech made against Democracy, for he has never made any of that kind (applause); a man in the full strength of his manhood, able to canvass any state in this Union. Gentlemen of the convention, Illinois makes no exaggeration when she tells you that in that great state the conditions are far better, the prospects are much brighter for Democracy than in 1892, when our candidate for Vice President carried it by 30,000 majority. (Applause.)

We have a state ticket stronger than we ever had before. We have but one Democracy in Illinois. We voice the sincere sentiment of the Democracy of Illinois when we ask you to nominate a man whose name we will present, a man who has been tried, gone through the contest, and no weak spots found in his armor; a man whose high character and ability recommend him to the people in every part of this republic; a man who possesses all the noble attributes of a noble man, great enough and good enough to be President of the United States, with a platform that reads like a Bible, and with these two faithful Democrats standing together, shoulder to shoulder, we can sweep criminal aggression and McKinley hypocrisy off the face of the earth.

Gentlemen of the convention, we now present to you the choice of the united Democracy of our state, that distinguished statesman, that splendid, vigorous, reliable Democrat, former Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois." (Great and continued applause.)

CHAPTER XXIX

Platform of the Democratic Party

Adopted at Kansas City, July 5, 1900

THE full text of the platform adopted by the Democratic National Committee is as follows :

" We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in Convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the Republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny ; and that to impose on any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

PORTO RICO LAW DENOUNCED

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding general of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It dooms to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity. In this, the first act of its imperialistic programme, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a

colonial policy, inconsistent with Republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

OUR PLEDGE TO CUBA

We demand the prompt and honest fulfilment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world, that the United States has no disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the island of Cuba except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the Administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet-bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

PHILIPPINE POLICY

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present Administration. It has involved the Republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing, with military force, the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization, they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the Republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which declared the Philippine policy of the Republican Administration, attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish War, involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia Convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican party 'steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine,' is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the eastern hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent, and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

OPPOSE MILITARISM.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm, which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined state militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service, and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and co-eval with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principle of a free people.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked, all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in state and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies ; that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican Administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

UNCEASING WARFARE PLEDGED

We pledge the Democratic party, to an unceasing warfare in nation, state and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced, and more stringent ones must be enacted, providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the state of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list, to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

The failure of the present Republican Administration, with an absolute control over all branches of the National Government, to enact any legislation designing to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books, prove the insincerity of the high sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people, or to control the sovereignty which created them, should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

THE TARIFF

We condemn the Dingley Tariff law as a trust breeding measure, skilfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the Interstate Commerce law as will enable the Commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

FREE COINAGE AT 16 TO 1

We reaffirm and endorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system, the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

CURRENCY BILL CONDEMNED

We denounce the Currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy, which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is, therefore, a scheme for fastening upon the tax payers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as government paper and silver certificates can be substituted for them.

ELECTION OF SENATORS

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

LABOR QUESTIONS

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

In the interest of American labor and the upbuilding of the working man as the corner-stone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896 that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

NICARAGUA CANAL

We favor the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican National platform for an isthmian canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests, not to be tolerated by the American people.

STATEHOOD FOR THE TERRITORIES

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant statehood to the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those territories immediate statehood and home rule during their condition as territories, and we favor home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

IRRIGATION

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

CHINESE EXCLUSION

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

NO FOREIGN ALLIANCES

Jefferson said : " Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations ; entangling alliances with none."

We approve this wholesome doctrine, and earnestly protest against the Republican departure, which has involved us in co-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS

Believing in the principles of self-government, and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of

England to overwhelm with force the South African Republics. Speaking, as we do, for the entire American nation, except its Republican office holders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

TAXES AND GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

We denounce the large appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such bare-faced frauds upon the taxpayers as the Shipping Subsidy bill, which, under the false pretence of prospering American shipbuilding, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional Republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

CHAPTER XXX

Convention of Silver Republicans

Held at Kansas City, July 4, 1900

The Party Favors Free Unlimited Coinage of Silver—Twenty-four States Represented—Democratic Ticket
Endorsed—Platform Adopted.

IT was a matter of great import that at the St. Louis Convention, in 1896, Senator Teller and other advocates of free silver withdrew from the Republican National Convention on account of their sincere belief that the old party was making a mistake in not recognizing the white metal in its platform. A new national party thereupon came into existence, known as the Silver Republican Party. This National Convention was called to meet in Kansas City on the same date as that of the Democratic Party, July 4, 1900. Twenty-four states were represented by delegates, as follows: Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, Colorado, Arkansas, California, Illinois, Indiana, Indian Territory, Idaho, Michigan, Montana, Mississippi, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, New Jersey, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, West Virginia. The meeting was called to order by Chairman Charles A. Towne, who introduced Rev. Dr. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, to offer the invocation. The Secretary of the National Committee read the call for the convention, after which Stanley S. Parkhill, of Minnesota, read the Declaration of Independence, which was loudly applauded. The chairman then introduced Dr. Howard S. Taylor, of Chicago, who read his poem, entitled "The Liberty Bell," which was rendered with good effect and received with signs of appreciation by the audience. Chairman Towne delivered a short address, in which he referred to the rise and progress of the principles this convention represented. In an

impressive manner he spoke of the Declaration of Independence as embodying the principles essential to the preservation of Republican institutions.

At the close of his speech he presented the gavel to Senator Teller, as temporary chairman of the convention. The gavel was made from the wood of an elm tree planted by Abraham Lincoln.

Senator Teller's address to the convention was full of force, and was a stirring arraignment of the Republican party during the four years and its attitude on the money question. He also reviewed the growth of the money trusts, and the rapid strides of imperialism and industrial trusts as attendant evils.

The mention of the names of William Jennings Bryan and Charles A. Towne by Mr. Teller created a perfect storm of applause, at the end of which Mr. E. S. Corser, of Minnesota, presented a resolution providing for a committee of fifteen, of which Henry M. Teller should be chairman, to present to the Democratic National Convention the name of Charles A. Towne as a candidate for vice-president, and that a similar committee be appointed to confer with a like committee which may be appointed by the Democratic National Convention.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

At the meeting of the convention for the second day, it was evident that William Jennings Bryan would be the nominee of the Silver Republican Party for the presidency. Before the platform was presented, a committee was appointed to invite the Ex-Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Webster Davis, to address the convention, which he did later in the day, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of the audience. The Committee on Resolutions, through Mr. D. C. Tillotson, of Kansas, reported the platform of the party which practically reaffirmed the Platform of the Democratic Party adopted at Kansas City. The report was unanimously adopted. Senator Teller then, in a most eloquent address, which was a fine tribute to the life and character of William Jennings Bryan, put him in nomination, declaring that not one Democrat of

prominence in the party stood so high in popular favor as did Mr. Bryan, who was called the Lincoln of the Silver Republican Party. Senator Teller's speech was seconded by H. S. Hazzard, of California, and by Senator Ransom, of Nebraska, by Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, of Idaho, H. B. Lason, of South Dakota, and many others.

NOT AGREED ON THE VICE PRESIDENCY

It was the expectation of many of the Silver Republicans that Charles A. Towne would receive the nomination of the National Democratic Party for the vice presidency, and for that reason the convention was disposed to wait until the Democratic convention had reached a decision. The committee appointed to confer with a like committee from the Democratic Convention accomplished no results, and there seemed to be a decided feeling against accepting Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic nominee, as the candidate for the Silver Republican Party. Charles A. Towne was the great hero of the convention, and it was with great effort on his part and that of his friends that the convention was kept from nominating him against his will. In an eloquent speech to the convention he declared that the principles for which the convention stood would be better accomplished by the election of William Jennings Bryan and by the defeat of William McKinley than by the election of any other man, that the prospect of success for victory of the free silver coinage principles should not be sacrificed by the nomination of any one who would prejudice the election of Mr. Bryan. Therefore, he besought the convention that they would lay aside whatever feeling they might have and place Mr. Stevenson as their candidate. This met with decided opposition in the convention, but a compromise was effected by not making a nomination and referring the matter to the National Committee, with plenary powers to fill the place to the best interests of the party.

After the adjournment of the convention, the Executive Committee agreed to ratify the nominations made by the National Democratic Convention, and placed Adlai Stevenson upon their ticket.

The Declaration of Independence

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary to the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Government:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

The Constitution of the United States.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.—CONGRESS IN GENERAL

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.*

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—THE SENATE

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year: and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

*See Article XIV., Amendments.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—BOTH HOUSES

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—THE HOUSES SEPARATELY

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—DISABILITIES OF MEMBERS

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—MODE OF PASSING LAWS

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall

become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

The Congress shall have power.

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States: but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.
2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.
3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.
4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.
5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.
6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.
7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.
8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.
9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.
10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.
11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.
12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.
13. To provide and maintain a navy.
14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.
15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.
16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.
17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings.
18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—POWERS DENIED TO THE UNITED STATES

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.
2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.
4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.
5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.
6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.
7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.
8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.—POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.
2. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.
3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.—PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:
2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.
3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]*

* This clause is superseded by Article XII., Amendments.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.—POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public minister, consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of justice, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.—UNITED STATES COURTS

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior,

and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.*

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—TREASON

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainer of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.—STATE RECORDS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS, etc.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.—NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and

* Altered by the 11th Amendment.

nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.—GUARANTEE TO THE STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall

issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot,

the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

